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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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4 June 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. Subversion of Antiwar Movement Alleged (Miroslav Kubin; RUDE PRAVO, 13 Apr 85) .....	1
Prague Comments on Reagan's Attitude To Results of WWII (Antonin Kostka; Prague Domestic Service, 10 May 85) ....	4
CPCZ's Kempny Recalls May Uprising in Prague (Josef Kempny; RUDE PRAVO, 4 May 85) .....	6
Prague Notes CSSR Delegation Meeting With Aliyev (Prague Domestic Service, 7 May 85) .....	7
Prague Cites CSSR-Nicaragua Joint Communique (Prague Domestic Service, 7 May 85) .....	8
Presidential Order Marks Liberation Anniversary (Prague Domestic Service, 8 May 85) .....	10
Lenart Addresses Antifascist Fighters Gala (Prague Domestic Service, 8 May 85) .....	12
Increased Concern for Forests (Vladimir Margetin; PRAVDA, 11 Apr 85) .....	15
Briefs	
Council Greet Counterpart	18
Hockey Team Congratulated	18
WPC Chairman Visits	18
Rohlicek Receives Iraqi Minister	18

#### HUNGARY

Psychological Warfare Methods of NATO Described (Jeno Burjan; NEPHADSEREG, 16 Feb 85) .....	19
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## POLAND

Director of Public Opinion Poll Center Discusses Its Activities  
(Stanislaw Kwiatkowski Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI,  
17 Feb 85) ..... 23

WAT Electronics Division Chief Discusses Its Activities  
(Kazimierz Dzieciolowski Interview; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI,  
28 Mar 85) ..... 27

## ROMANIA

Democratization of State System Extolled  
(Aculin Cazacu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 5, 10 Mar 85) ..... 33

## YUGOSLAVIA

Attitudinal Survey of Secondary Schoolers in Split Noted  
(Boris Vuskovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1781,  
17 Feb 85) ..... 41

Innovations in Legislation Affecting Military Duty  
(Stanoje Jovanovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1782,  
24 Feb 85) ..... 50

Slovene Disagreement on Memorial, Role of Writers  
(Stane Pucko; VJESNIK, 4 Mar 85) ..... 56



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. SUBVERSION OF ANTIWAR MOVEMENT ALLEGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 85 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Kubin: "The Target Is Antiwar Movement"]

[Excerpts] Recently, certain NATO countries are loudly praising the placing of the new American nuclear intermediate range missiles on West European territory. Also, the novelty in the U.S. arsenal, namely, space weapons, is being sold to the public as "defensive weapons." The Easter marches have now confirmed that, the more the systems of the new offensive weapons are praised, the more resistance against them is shown by the peace-loving forces. More and more people are aware that the increase in nuclear arsenals raises the danger of nuclear war.

Consequently, the White House opened a new front against the peace movement which uses a variety of means and the most cunning methods--starting with calumnies and diversions and ending with provocations and threats and even punishments.

The experts on this method of struggle for the "hearts and minds of people" are being recruited not only by the special department in the Pentagon but also by special agencies cooperating with the CIA. Thus, a so-called Center for the Study of Ethics and Social Policy has been established at the U.S. Information Agency. Under this cover, its goal is to carry on a subversive activity within the antiwar movement. Moreover, it tries to discredit the antiwar movement using provocations which directly contradict ethics and have nothing in common with social policy.

The secret services of the U.S. and other NATO countries try to plant in the antiwar movement agents-provocateurs who are to call for actions which would make the antiwar organizations responsible for disruptions and invite police intervention. In addition, the provocateurs are to discredit the peace movement by assertions or falsified documents that it is a paid "extended arm of Moscow." A number of such provocations has been discovered recently. The Dutch newspaper DE WAARHEID published an interview with the representatives of the Church Peace Council Wirt Wirts who described in details the efforts of secret service agents to recruit him for supplying information about the activity of the antiwar organizations.

An especially shrewd provocation was attempted by the CIA in cooperation with the Dutch secret service BVD. The CIA agent, John Gardiner, infiltrated the peace camp near the American air force base in Wunsdrecht which is to receive 48 missiles launched from a flatbed. By his behavior and posturing he won the confidence of the local peace defenders. However, he informed the Dutch police of the actions being planned and the police suppressed them in the bud. The highlight of the program of this agent was to be the placing of 13 air force grenades, stolen from the military base in Florennes in Belgium, in the mobile home owned by the peace camp. However, the peace defenders were able to uncover this operation in time and Gardiner quickly changed his role into that of a "penitent" who regretted his action before a Belgian court.

An inordinate provocation against the peace movement took place recently in the FRG during the NATO military exercises called Central Guardian under the command of the American general, Robert L. Wetzel--the same general who last fall called an antiwar rally held in the West German Fulda a band of vandals, anarchists and criminals. A psychological action in the form of a flood of leaflets calling on the people of Hesse to uncover "saboteurs, suspicious and strangely behaving persons" was part of these exercises. Special reporting stations were set up to facilitate these denunciations. Officially, this action was presented as "training for a serious case when the enemy is hiding in the area and, with the help of local sympathizers, plans to destroy the bridges, railroad tracks and communications."

The former British MI-5 secret service agent, Massiter, recently stated in her interview in the OBSERVER that the British secret service monitors the telephone conversations of trade union members, members of various antiwar organizations such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and others. The secret service has a file on the active members of this movement. Massiter worked for the MI-5 for 14 years. In the Spring of 1981 she was given the order not only to "officially" spy on the known communists but "unofficially" to watch the entire peace movement. When she refused to follow the "unofficial" order, she was dismissed from the services of the MI-5.

The government of those countries which today, under the pressure of Washington, are to fulfill the plan for placing the American intermediate-range nuclear rockets are not satisfied with mere spying on the active members of the antiwar organizations. This spying also serves a further purpose: to prepare detailed repressive actions against protest demonstrations at bases for the American Pershings, Tomahawks and Tridents as well as to arrange various provocations which the police could use as a pretext for the arrests and brutal dispersal of the demonstrators.

Recently, not only in the USA but also in West European countries peace defenders are being prosecuted. For example, a district court in the West German city of Schwabisch Gmund has on its docket over 1,000 individual cases involving participants at demonstrations near the American rocket base in Mutlangen. A similar situation is at the courts in Ulm and Stuttgart which have jurisdiction over a number of other bases. Tens of participants

of peace demonstrations were arrested in Great Britain when they demonstrated near the American base in Alconbury.

Police repression against the women protesting in the peace camp near the base at Greenham Common is occurring daily. The Italian police, too, have dispersed the peace protest camps near the American base in Comiso in Sicily.

The goal of all these actions is to scare the peace defenders and at the same time present them before public opinion as "disturbers of the peace" and "hooligans." The right-wing press also characterizes them as "traitors of the fatherland," "agents of Moscow," "anarchists," etc.

The attempts to discredit the antiwar movement, however, have failed. On the contrary, this movement is penetrating the minds of the West European people as a legitimate defender of the most important interests of humanity. In the FRG, Belgium and other NATO countries this movement has become a broad democratic movement, whose members are affiliated with a variety of political parties and social organizations and consist of people of the most varied political and religious beliefs.

The broad base of this movement is documented by the fact that the trade union organizations take part in the preparation of numerous peace demonstrations. The German Trade Union Federation which earlier adopted a reserved attitude toward these actions has recently taken an active stand and itself organizes actions for peace, detente and stands against the arms race.

The growing number among the democratic and peace-loving public show their antiwar attitude and rejection of the patent preparations for nuclear war by the United States. At the same time, the efforts of the socialist countries for a constructive dialogue and agreements which would lead to the removal of the threat of nuclear war and bring about the end of the arms race are getting good reception and sympathy.

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CSO: 2400/359

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S ATTITUDE TO RESULTS OF WWII

LD102154 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 May 85

[Commentary by Antonin Kostka: "A Characteristic Attitude"]

[Text] The celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over fascism are still resounding in our hearts and minds. We bowed before the memory of those who paid with their lives for our national and social liberty and the longest period of peace in the history of the continent of Europe. We realized more than at any time before how much alive the legacy of those who fell still is, and how vitally important is the resolution born out of the sufferings of World War II never to allow a new bloody conflict and to do everything possible for the coexistence of nations in understanding and cooperation.

This is why the attitude of the U.S. President, Reagan, presented so harshly during the celebrations of the end of the war by the homage he paid to the Nazi Wehrmacht and members of the criminal SS at a cemetery in the West German town of Bitburg by his official speech to the West European parliament in Strasbourg, made such a disturbing impact. In that speech, delivered on the anniversary day of the capitulation of Hitlerite Germany, he failed to find a single word of condemnation for its crimes or to draw a single lesson from the history for which mankind paid with more than 50 million of lives. He failed to find a single word of acknowledgement of the enormous sacrifices with which the Soviet people saved the world from fascism, despite the fact that in the speeches made by comrades Gustav Husak, Mikhail Gorbachev, and other leading representatives of the socialist countries, the contribution of other nations--including the United States--albeit incomparably smaller, was highly appreciated.

Instead of expressing a natural respect for the fallen Soviet heroes, Reagan filled his speech with angry attacks on the Soviet Union, which he accused of harboring imperialist ambitions, ascribed to it efforts to gain superiority, rebuked it for excessive armaments, and described it as the chief threat to peace. To put it more simply, he tried to foist on to the Soviet Union all the negative aspects of his own policy. It is difficult to say what such an anti-Soviet speech, on the day when the entire world commemorated the historic merits of the Soviet Union in saving mankind and strengthening peace, contains more of--outrageous cynicism or cynical outrage? However, there can be

no doubt of one thing. And that is, that this was not a fortuitous flare up, a gratuitous manifestation of Reagan's complex of hate of socialism.

There is a direct connection between Reagan's pilgrimage to the graves of the SS men in Bitburg and his speech in Strasbourg. Reconciliation with Nazi past and unbridled anticommunism are two sides of the same coin. Homage to the dead SS killers was identification with their anticommunist credo, while the speech in Strasbourg was an attempt to recruit new forces under the common banner of anticommunism and a symbolic declaration that its American variety has become the successor of the Nazi version of anticommunism.

An imaginative explanation of this startling phenomenon, which is incomprehensible to many of those who admire the liberal and democratic ideas of the founders of the United States, is contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. Imperialist reaction, which was not satisfied with the result of the war because socialism came out of it victoriously, stronger, and more attractive and because the colonial system collapsed, began to prepare for a new crusade against socialism. And because German and Japanese imperialism were destroyed, and Britain and France were weakened, the new center of imperialism logically formed itself in the United States--the only country which grew enormously richer from the war. Thus President Reagan's attitude, manifested so characteristically during his just ended visit to Europe, is, especially in light of the lessons of 1945, a warning signal to all for whom the defeat of fascism meant freedom and an entry into a new life, a signal that despite the enormous changes that have occurred in the world during these past 40 years, that the danger is acute and great.

Therefore, the appeal which the highest bodies of the Soviet Union addressed to the nations, parliaments, and governments of the world on the occasion of the victorious end of the war, has been received with new hope. This is because the appeal calls, in the spirit of the legacy of the fallen, for the unity of mankind in the name of the sacred right of man to live in peace, for an effort to avert a nuclear threat, and to establish enduring peace, which is the only chance possessed by people living in a nuclear age.

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S KEMPNY RECALLS MAY UPRISING IN PRAGUE

AU061013 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 May 1985 carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council, entitled "The May Uprising and Today." The article deals with the "May Uprising of the Czech People" in Prague in 1945, which Kempny calls the "expression of patriotic feelings, of longing for a free life, of determination to resolve the people's vital needs in a socially just and democratic manner. The uprising," Kempny notes, "directly presaged the Prague operation of the Soviet Army and the final phase of the liberation of our fatherland."

Kempny then elaborates on the role and significance of the uprising, going back to the times of Munich, the occupation of Czech lands, the communist party's involvement in wartime resistance there, and the impetus given to the uprising by the Slova national uprising, in which the leading role was played by the communist party, he says.

After describing the events of the uprising in Prague, in which, he says, the communist party was the organizing political force, Kempny points out that the significance of the uprising also lay in its setting the broad people's strate into revolutionary motion. He pays tribute to the sacrifice of life by the Soviet Army and the national liberation movement in the fight against fascism; underscores that the USSR bore the main burden during it; describes the gradual transition in Czechoslovakia from the national and democratic revolution to the socialist revolution (via the communist takeover in February 1948); he elaborates on the successes and achievements to date and on current tasks facing the CSSR and the socialist states.

After underscoring the importance of the international cooperation of the socialist community, led by the USSR as the guarantee of a reliable and effective defense against the aggressor, Kempny calls for the preservation of peace (stressing the USSR's peace policy) and recalls the message of the May Uprising: to be committed to developing the legacy of the national liberation fight.

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE NOTES CSSR DELEGATION MEETING WITH ALIYEV

LD072322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 May 85

[Excerpts] A celebratory meeting in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in the Soviet capital today was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia and the 15th anniversary of signing the new Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Present at the meeting was Geydar Aliyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and the head of the Czechoslovak party and government delegation Milos Jakes. Here is a dispatch from Moscow.

Muscovites speaking in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions about Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and cooperation stressed that the anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia was, as the last day of the war, also a red-letter day for all progressive mankind. Viliam Salgovic, head of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Friendship Association and chairman of the Slovak National Council, speaking at the meeting, noted that our nations were the first victims of Hitlerite expansion and throughout the whole period of the fascist yoke looked towards the East from where they expected their liberation.

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE CITES CSSR-NICARAGUA JOINT COMMUNIQUE

LD071918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 7 May 85

[Text] At the close of the working visit by the Nicaraguan delegation led by Daniel Ortega, president of the Nicaraguan Republic and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, to Czechoslovakia a joint communique was issued.

The communique says that in the talks between the delegations of Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, highly praised the heroism of the Nicaraguan people which selflessly and with determination defended the achievements of the Sandinist revolution face-to-face with an undeclared war conducted with active U.S. participation. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic he resolutely condemned this step contravening the elementary principles of international law and the UN charter and providing yet another example of the misuse of force against a small and independent country whose people, casting their votes in free elections, expressed its full confidence in the Sandinist government and its program of the development of the country.

Daniel Ortega underlined the importance of the support Czechoslovakia affords to his country in its fight for maintaining independence and sovereignty and highly praised Czechoslovak principled foreign policy dedicated to peace.

The two delegations exchanged views on the fundamental problems of the current international situation and agreed that responsibility for the tension existing in the world must be borne by the most reactionary forces of imperialism, particularly those in the United States. At the same time they noted that antiwar peace forces actively taking their stance against the policy of militarization and aggression and demanding the continuation of the process of detente are growing all the time. Both delegations expressed the conviction that averting nuclear war and preventing the militarization of space is the most important task. In this context they welcomed the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States on the whole complex of questions concerning nuclear and space weapons and expressed their conviction that, providing the U.S. approach to Soviet proposals is more serious, it should be possible to prevent extending the arms build up to space, achieve its halting on land and limit the levels of nuclear weapons. Both sides expressed the view that



banning and liquidating of nuclear weapons and a general and total disarmament under international supervision should be the ultimate aim of the efforts of all states.

The joint communique on the working visit of the Nicaraguan delegation in Czechoslovakia goes on to say that the talks paid particular attention to the situation in Latin America. Both sides welcomed the process of democratization taking place in a number of countries of this region. They expressed profound concern at the situation in Central America and the Caribbean. In this context they resolutely rejected U.S. attempts to claim the right to decide the fate of nations and states in the spirit of its hegemonist ambitions. They condemned again aggression against Grenada which made it impossible for the people of that island country to continue along the course it had freely chosen. It was necessary to deal with the dangerous tension in this region through exclusively peaceful means.

The Czechoslovak side highly praised the fact that the government of the Nicaraguan Republic had fully supported all proposals of the countries of the Contadora group aiming at averting the danger of war conflict, solving the complex situation through negotiations and ensuring a peaceful development in line with the wishes of the peoples of the countries involved. The Czechoslovak side expressed full support for the proposals President of the Republic of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega put forward with the aim of reducing tension, preserving peace and averting the danger of war in Central America.

Both sides emphasized the importance of the nonaligned movement, in which the Nicaraguan Republic plays an important role, in the struggle for maintaining and strengthening world peace, against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, for ensuring independent political and economic development, and respecting other international principles violated by imperialism.

The heads of both delegations expressed the conviction that the results of the talks between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Republic of Nicaragua would contribute to the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries in all spheres of mutual contact.

Daniel Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, invited Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, for a visit to the Republic of Nicaragua. The invitation was accepted with thanks, says the joint communique on the working visit of the Nicaraguan delegation to Czechoslovakia in conclusion.

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESIDENTIAL ORDER MARKS LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

LD082324 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] The president of the republic has issued an order on the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national-liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

The order says that the CPCZ, which united all patriotic forces in their determined resistance to Nazi occupants, was the leading force of the anti-fascist struggle of our nations. The national-liberation struggle, which culminated in the Slovak National Uprising and in the May Uprising of the Czech people, resulted in a victorious national and democratic revolution which opened to our people long-term prospects of socialist development. The Czechoslovak people will never forget that it was the Soviet Union and its heroic army which made the decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and the victory of the antifascist coalition in World War II. We shall always proudly remember that courageously fighting alongside the Soviet Army from Sokolov to Prague were members of Czechoslovak military units in the USSR. Our gratitude to and love for those Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers who fought and lost their lives for our freedom will be in our hearts forever. We proudly remember the participants in the national-liberation struggle who, taking part in resistance at home and abroad, courageously fought against fascism; and we pay tribute to the memory of all those who made the ultimate sacrifice for the freedom of our people.

The order of the president of the republic goes on to emphasize that in the last 40 years our people have fulfilled and developed the heritage of the national-liberation struggle. This is borne out by the incessant growth of the economic, political, and moral strength of our society in consolidating the existing living standards and the social security of the people and in the development of socialist democracy, education, and the cultural standards of the working people. Czechoslovakia is a firm part of the countries of the socialist community, enjoys a good international position, and its authority in the world grows all the time. Its defense is reliably ensured in the defense organization of the Warsaw Pact member states. The extending of its validity has become an important contribution to strengthening the collective defense of the socialist community and peace in Europe. At the moment, we are witnessing the reactionary forces of imperialism attempting to cover up imperialism's responsibility for unleashing World War II, casting doubts on

the decisive contribution of the USSR to the defeat of fascism, questioning postwar arrangements and inciting demonstrations of revanchism. In an attempt to achieve military superiority they step up the feverish arms build-up and material preparations for nuclear war and want to transfer it to space. Together the the countries of the socialist community and with other peace-loving forces we shall continue to strive for detente, for a return to the policy of peaceful coexistence and constructive cooperation and for the preservation of peace'. At the same time we will do all that is necessary to strengthen our defense capability. In the interest of permanently developing and strengthening the economic and defense potential of our state we will incessantly deepen fraternal cooperation with the USSR and with other countries of the socialist community. In close cooperation with the Soviet Army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states we will do everything to ensure the security of our homeland and of the socialist community.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national-liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, a national day of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the president of the republic has issued an order to fire 20 artillery salvoes in Prague and Bratislava at 2100 on 9 May 1985, the order says.

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LENART ADDRESSES ANTIFASCIST FIGHTERS GALA

LD082345 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 8 May 85

[Excerpts] The central bodies of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters held a joint gala session today in the Palace of Culture in Prague to mark the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Here is a report from Stanislav Benda:

[Benda] Taking their places in the Function Hall of the Palace of Culture were members of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, World War II veterans, former participants of the Slovak National Uprising and the May Uprising in Prague and the uprising of the Czech people. They welcomed in their midst a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, and of the federal government, headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

Our resistance fighters also welcomed a delegation of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, headed by Lieutenant General Aleksey (Yementyev), and a delegation from Poland and Romania representing those countries which took a direct part in the liberation of Czechoslovakia. The session was also attended by representatives of the embassies of the socialist countries in Czechoslovakia of the International Resistance Federation, and other guests from the fraternal antifascist organizations from 18 countries of Europe.

A gala address was given by Frantisek Miseje, chairman of the Federal Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, who stressed that responsibility for the 6-year war inferno and all its consequences lay with imperialism and its most reactionary circles. The defeat of fascism was primarily the feat of the Soviet people, which bore the most sacrifices. The defeat of fascism was proof of the tenacity of the socialist system, the victory of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the policy of the CPSU.

Comrade Jozef Lenart also made a greetings speech at today's gala session. He conveyed to everyone the personal greetings of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and he went on to say:

[Begin Lenart recording in Slovak] Victory day is a holiday for all our people, but allow me to say, comrades, that it is and will remain for us who participated directly in the antifascist struggle of our nations on all fronts surely the dearest, most precious day, never to be forgotten. In these moments we once again relive everything that had to be fought for, for which suffering had to be endured, that had to be lived through together with the painful memory of close comrades, fellow combatants, who did not live to see the victory.

Our communist party, which inspired and led the national liberation struggle, and the National Front highly values all those who took part in the national liberation struggle. We strive to ensure that the significance of the anti-fascist struggle, of the sacrifices made, and the valiant deeds of those who took part in the resistance, are justly appreciated by the broadest public of our nations and ethnic minorities, that not only the older generation but also our young people nurture profound respect for all the participants in the national liberation struggle.

On this jubilee occasion we want also from this platform to extend our warmest greetings to the sons and daughters of our people, who fought on World War II fronts, who fought side by side with the Soviet Army from Sokolovo via Dukla to Prague as well as those who fought both in the air and on the ground on the western front and on other battlefields. We extend our heartfelt greetings to the participants on the largest front of the home resistance, those who despite brutal terror carried out the struggle underground, who had to go through the hell of concentration camps and Nazi torture chambers. We extend our heartfelt greetings to the participants in the Slovak National Uprising, partisans and insurgent soldiers, fighters on Prague barricades and the entire May Rising of the Czech people.

Our nations thus made not a small contribution to the defeat of the main enemy of mankind--German fascism. Three hundred and sixty thousand martyrs that our nations sacrificed belong to the millions and millions of the dead. But we knew, friends, at that time, and we also know today that the great heroism of our people and their sacrifices could be crowned with victory only because the biggest burden of the struggle against fascist Germany had to be borne by the Soviet Union and its people. It is due to its army and its victories at Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk that the backbone of the fascist armies was broken.

It is also in connection with the 40th anniversary of victory day that we have been witnessing how the forces of revanchism, who have not reconciled themselves with the defeat, are raising their horns and going onto a counter-attack. Bourgeois propaganda is attempting to free imperialism of the responsibility for unleashing World War II. Its agencies are also striving to reduce the role played by the USSR in the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan. It is during the past decade, with Reagan coming to power, that the reactionary and aggressive character of imperialism and specifically American imperialism has been revealed in its full nakedness. Their attempts to disparage the role played by the USSR in World War II fall fully within the

concept of Reagan's crusade against communism, whose leading idea is social revenge. The deplorable act of Reagan, who at the military cemetery at Bitburg abused the memory of the victims of fascism, also falls within this framework. Honor to SS murderers, served to the public as a gesture of reconciliation, means nothing other than open support for German revanchism, support for the attempts to revise both the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

Everyone who was an eye-witness, who knows the facts must open the gates to the truth and reiterate that it was the Soviet Union which bore the biggest burden of World War II, that its army decimated the decisive forces of the Wehrmacht, that its victories at Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, and other battlefields had an impact on the whole of Europe, even in the countries the Soviet troops did not enter directly. Since the very first moment of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people fought not only for themselves but also for Prague, Belgrade, Warsaw, and Sofia as well as for Paris and London. They fought for entire mankind. And like at that time, it is the Soviet Union once again which today in the face of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, is defending the interests of mankind by its struggle for peace. [applause]  
[end recording]

CSO: 2400/401

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## INCREASED CONCERN FOR FORESTS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Margetin, SSR minister of forestry and water management:  
"The Legalities of Development in the Forest Economy"]

[Excerpts] The current phase of development of society is characterized not only by a dynamic development of the national economy but also an ever more consistent and more fundamental solution of ecological problems. Ecological questions are, literally, at the center of attention of our citizens every day and, in view of their seriousness, are regularly addressed by the highest party and state organs. In this direction, the comprehensive solution of ecological problems of a country, and thus also of the forest economy, takes on a special significance because violations not only influence development and the status of forest growth but indirectly influence the environment and the health of man.

In recent times, we frequently encounter various opinions with respect to the status of our forests, with respect to their utilization, protection and the conservation of this immense treasure for future generations. It is good that these problems are of interest to the wide public--that people are seeking answers to questions which concern all of society. However, frequently, the situation is evaluated unilaterally, with stress being placed on the problem of exploitation, particularly on the fact that we are extracting much and more timber than is tolerable. Others, in turn, criticize the forest economy for not extracting enough timber to cover the demands of the wood processing industry, not only with respect to quantity but also quality and assortment of products. Who is right and how is the true situation with respect to utilizing our forests and our forest economy?

In this situation it is appropriate to remind readers that even though the socialist forest economy does not share to a specifically significant extent in the formation of national income, its significance for the national economy is irreplaceable. As we know, in addition to producing lumber, the forest fulfills many other life-giving functions, particularly with respect to water management, soil conservation, health and hygiene, and recreation. Thanks to its biological essence, the forest is actually the sole source for renewable raw materials. This is why its importance now when other raw material sources

are gradually shrinking is constantly growing. Certainly it is true that we are fully aware of this fact--that particularly at the time when nature is awakening, each year we focus the attention of the public on the significance and consistent protection of the forest even by proclaiming the month of April as the month of the forest.

A new chapter in the planned management of forests is the establishment of a special institute for the economic management of forests--today's Lesoprojekt Enterprise, with its headquarters in Zvolen. Workers at this institute followed up positive experiences in economic management planning and gradually, based on qualitatively new socialist principles, develop principles of planning and optimum utilization of the forest inventory to benefit society. The activities at Lesoprojekt are aimed today at the detailed determination of the status of forests in the form of investigations and analyses which terminate in concrete economic measures.

Since 1978 new laws governing societal relations have been valid for the forest economy and specify the fundamental goals and directions of development of this branch of the economy and the utilization of the forest riches in a new spirit. In the sense of the resolution passed by the 15th and 16th Congresses of the CPCZ, current projects involve the following not only of efforts to raise the production capabilities of forests but also the fulfillment of the remaining all-societal functions to which we ascribe similar importance as we do to the production of timber. Today, practically all of the forest inventory is managed by state organizations of the forest economy, a fact which created the prerequisites for assuring the continuing production of the forest as well as the fulfillment of protective, water management, land reclamation and recreation functions of the forest.

These demanding goals may be achieved only through planned forest management through forest economy plans, which are formulated in such a way as to provide a fundamental orientation for forest managers over a 10-year period. Through the medium of the plans the principles of state policy, as well as results of forestry science and research, are passed through into the work of foresters. The content of the plans--since they are approved and controlled by appropriate organs of state administration--are binding upon all users of the forest.

The plan sets concrete goals for the cultivation and renewal of stands and, for example, specifies that an area is to be reforested with a certain type of tree within 2 years following the development of a clearing. According to specific legal provisions, the plan also specifies the volume of extraction in individual areas. The planning of extraction which is binding on all organizational units of the State Forestry Enterprise, depends on a number of circumstances which exclude subjective approaches on the part of the forest manager.

Changes in the forest economy plan resulting from unforeseen influences must be approved by the appropriate organ of the state administration. For the sake of completion, it must be said that organs of state administration who have the opportunity to evaluate the attained results but who can also assign remedial measures and sanctions in the event tasks are not fulfilled, monitor



the maintenance of legal provisions and regulations which control the economic plans within a certain time span.

Currently, the forest economy has considerable concern regarding the deterioration of forest health, a subject which has several times been dealt with by even the highest party and state organs. Various natural calamities--wind, drought, frost and primarily the effect of industrial emissions, exert an unfavorable influence upon the forest and cause additional worries for forest managers. However, not even in such situations, nothing chaotic is occurring in our forests. It is true that calamities have complicated the timber extraction plans and work involving the forest renewal but even in these difficult circumstances, the activities of forest managers are organized and checked.

However, not even a planned economy by itself is any guarantee that all goals of the forest economy will be met. The situation in the forest industry is disrupted not only by calamities but also by the actions of a subjective perpetrator. The forest manager who does not fulfill his obligation thoroughly is frequently the cause of manifestations which are rightfully pointed out by the public. This is primarily a matter of repeat shortcomings in cultivation activity, high losses involved in reforestation, in tending and protecting forest seedlings, as well as in culturing stands of trees. For example, in an effort to attain short-term economic effects, it is not uncommon for extraction to be primarily carried out in stands where costs are lower and the liquidation of harvestable but difficult-to-get-to stands is put off. The hygiene of the forest is also not at the desirable level. The determination of such isolated instances in the forest economy leads to heightened control activity, aimed primarily at monitoring the quality of work.

A component of national economic planning in the forest economy are the annual permanent inventories which provide fundamental data regarding the status of the forest and regarding extraction possibilities. In view of the seriousness of the current situation, the Ministry of Forests and Water Management of the SSR has decided to actualize selected data in forest economy plans regarding the status of the forest and will complete this task by the end of the year. It will provide up-to-date data on the status of tree stands over an area of 1.8 million hectares and will become the starting point for planned development in the forest economy in the 8th Five-Year Plan.

5911  
CSO: 2400/380

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

COUNCIL GREETES COUNTERPART--The Central Trade Union Council has sent a telegram of greetings to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of Chinese trade unions. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 85 p 2]

HOCKEY TEAM CONGRATULATED--Prague (CTK)--Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, has sent a telegram to the Czechoslovak ice-hockey team, in which he cordially congratulated the team on winning the title of world champions and on having represented Socialist Czechoslovakia in an exemplary way. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 85 p 1]

WPC CHAIRMAN VISITS--Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council, was received on Tuesday [7 May] in Prague by Bedrich Svestka, chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Council, and by Romas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 May 85 p 2]

ROHLICEK RECEIVES IRAQI MINISTER--Prague, 8 May [CTK]--Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received here today Iraqi minister of planning and chairman of the Iraqi part of the permanent committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Iraq's Amal Majid Faraj who is currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia. They reviewed the achievements in the two countries' relations in the economic sphere, and expressed the interest of their governments in further promotion and extension of all-round economic relations. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 8 May 85 LD]

CSO: 2020/124

HUNGARY

## PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE METHODS OF NATO DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 16 Feb 85 p 4

[Article by Maj Jeno Burjan: "Methods of Psychological Warfare"]

[Text] The sharpening of the international struggle, the announcement of an anticommunist "crusade" and the imperialist propaganda aimed at the defensive preparedness of the Warsaw Pact and Hungary require that we take care of the ideological protection of personnel.

One of the important requirements is that our soldiers become acquainted with the ideological essence hiding behind the various versions of imperialist propaganda directed against us, with the system and structure of psychological warfare.

The imperialist states and the political and military leaders of NATO assign an important role to psychological warfare in preparing for a possible war against the socialist countries. The psychological warfare organs of the NATO states are conducting active, political subversive activity against the armies of the socialist countries and thus against the armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic.

### In First Place--The Pentagon

The interest of the American political leadership in the activity of institutes dealing with research on the social-political relationships of the socialist countries increased in the second half of the 1970's. The sums going to these centers out of the budgets of the Pentagon and the more important intelligence agencies (CIA, USIA) nearly doubled, to finance medium and short-range psychological warfare operations.

For example, there is in California an "Institute of War, Revolution and Peace" which conducts coordinating activity on the basis of instructions from the Hudson Institute and the USIA. The "Russian Center of Columbia University" and the American Psychological Warfare Center at Fort Bragg deal with training and further training of experts in psychological warfare. In the course of psychological warfare they use not only the research centers but also radio propaganda and television programs. Radio transmissions to the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries increased from 1,500 hours per week in 24 languages in 1972 to 1,650 hours per week in 38 languages in 1982.

The "German Wave" radio station broadcasts 67 percent of its program time in the languages of the peoples of socialist countries--including Hungarian.

President Reagan has confirmed Frank Shakespeare, chairman of the independent council of international radio, in his office for a new term. This council directs the work of Radio Free Europe and the Liberty Transmitter, which conduct subversive activity, which work practically under the aegis of the CIA and which are increasingly active against the socialist countries

The leadership of the United States has been attributing ever greater significance recently to psychological warfare. Psychological warfare is an aggressive method of anticommunist ideological diversion aimed at influencing the masses. The following can be found in the official American dictionary: "Psychological warfare is the planned exploitation of propaganda methods by a nation with the goal of influencing the positions, emotions and behavior of hostile, neutral or friendly groups of other countries...."

The most aggressive aspects of imperialist propaganda appear in undisguised form in psychological warfare. It is obvious that this propaganda has become a tool not for persuasion but rather for political intervention. Its unique nature resides in the fact that the goal is not to change views but rather to create political and psychological situations which will elicit definite forms of behavior from the target population.

In addition to the psychological warfare conducted at the state--strategic--level, they have created and are developing operational, tactical organs for military psychological warfare to be used in conflicts--wars--considered suitable for this by them.

Their organizational structure follows the structure of NATO and they are organically fitted into its political, military organization. It is a unique aspect of their use that in the interest of political goals they are active not as reinforcements but rather as support. Subordinate military organs and commanders cannot limit their activity.

The doctrine of "special warfare" embraces the basic principles and organizational structure of the psychological warfare activity of the American armed forces.

The doctrine sets forth as a basic principle applying to the guidance and application of psychological warfare that psychological warfare must be employed on a mass scale to support military operations. It states that psychological warfare operations must be designed for the "receptive groups" discovered and that psychological warfare actions must be carried out in a coordinated way with all available means.

Naturally one can also find the principles, methods and practical application of psychological warfare in the "arsenal" of other bourgeois armies as well.

Among the Western European countries activity of this sort by the army of the FRG is especially worthy of attention.

#### "Defensive" System

In agreement with the military leaders of the United States and other bourgeois armies the leadership of the Bundeswehr starts from the position that the conditions of modern war pose extraordinarily high demands on the political or moral-psychological condition of the troops. They formulate this concretely in a regulation titled "Leadership in Battle."

Until the 1970's the training of the psychological defense organs of the West German forces, the definition of their tasks and their organizational structure, took place basically on the model of the propaganda machine of the Second World War. Their activity was aimed at influencing both their own and the enemy troops and population.

The Psychological Defense Principles (Psychologische Verteidigung) contain a new sphere for psychological warfare.

With what methods does psychological defense work?

It follows from the task and the situation of the target groups that the psychological warfare operation turns to the persons or groups to be influenced with "information" or an "appeal". Information is used in a situation where the goal is to strengthen the awareness of the "receiver" in given directions or themes, so the information must give rise to trust. Intellectual manipulation of this sort is extraordinarily widespread in practice even today and is a favorite and most successful method of bourgeois mass media experts and organs. In contrast to this the goal of an appeal is to encourage a reaction in the "target group" which is in the immediate interest of the military leadership. Special units of the armed forces--the so-called "PSV Truppen" (psychological defense groups)--are available to implement these methods.

The general staff of the armed forces stands at the head of the organization of the "psychological defense" apparatus. The general staff of the ground troops exercises professional guidance and the "psychological defense"--warfare--units operating in staffs at various levels and in the organization of the fighting units are subordinate to this staff. Battalions at the strategic level and companies at the operational-tactical level have been organized in the Bundeswehr to carry out psychological warfare operations.

The political organs of the armed forces turn great attention to selecting experts for the psychological warfare organizations. The majority of the reserve complement are professional propagandists, radio and television experts, who participate actively in preparing programs aimed at relaxation and directed abroad by West German radio and television stations.

The training of the professional staff takes place in a psychological warfare school. Selection takes place on the basis of an admissions competition which takes special viewpoints into consideration. The basic requirements for

admission are the following: all branches of service training, graduation from a military academy, parachute training, knowledge of at least one foreign language.

Nor is Italy an exception to the use of psychological warfare in the NATO alliance system--to mention only the more significant armed forces.

#### Italian Ideas

As part of the preparation for armed struggle the Italian armed forces also have formed organizations the chief task of which is, on the one hand, to prepare their own personnel to meet the hypothetical enemy and, on the other hand, to perform activity the goal of which is the moral-political and psychological disorganization of the enemy through use of the tools and methods in the arsenal of psychological warfare.

Groups and departments dealing with psychological warfare are organized in the armed forces, in the general staffs of the branches of service, in the zone headquarters and in division and brigade headquarters.

The grouping of the forces and tools used in the course of psychological warfare correspond in general to that of the other armies in the integrated military organization of NATO. What is of more significance to us is the ideological basis of the psychological warfare which might be directed against us.

Starting from the fact that Italy is a member of an aggressive military bloc, NATO, it can be established that the implementation of just one basic thesis, anticommunism, characterises the activity of the organ guiding psychological operations. They employ this principle in all forms and at every level of psychological warfare.

Anticommunism, as goal and tool, is the basis for propaganda serving to protect their own troops and the psychological warfare called upon to destroy the fighting morale of enemy personnel.

But modern psychological warfare does not exclusively involve psychological actions carried out in the course of waging an armed struggle. The anticommunism serving as a basis for this activity represents today the official, state level policy of the bourgeois systems. In accordance with this it embraces all those areas in which the bourgeois state realizes this activity.

By paying constant attention to the relaxation policy and the ideological diversion directed against us, by analyzing and evaluating it and by making use of the conclusions drawn in this way, we have an opportunity to acquire, even in peacetime, basic information about the nature of the psychological warfare conducted by international imperialism, about those criteria which will characterize the intensive and concentrated psychological actions in the course of a possible war.

8984

CSO: 2500/339

POLAND

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC OPINION POLL CENTER DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 17 Feb 85 p 5

[Interview with Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Poll Center, by Barbara Rojewska; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We know, at least from press reports, more and more about the results of surveys by the Public Opinion Poll Center. Please tell us what were the concerns of the center in its first two years of operation.

[Answer] We are interested in everything that can have meaning for the management of the country. We have a realm of studies such as the operation of the government, a field difficult to grasp (it is enough to think of the number of ministries and central government offices). It stands to reason that we must choose the topics most important to current policy; that is, to the fulfillment of authority and considering the needs of society and those who, by its consent, manage the country.

[Question] Please describe some of the most important studies completed.

[Answer] Our studies generally precede all the more significant political and economic decisions of the government and they deal with important events in the nation. For example, there were studies preceding wage reform, price increases, elections to national councils, on the subject of trade unions, autonomy, economic reform, the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate, agriculture, administration, etc. Generally they are conducted with samplings of 1500 to 2500 people representative of the average adult population of Poland. But we also conduct surveys of particular groups--among workers, peasants, civil servants or the intelligentsia.

[Question] What about young people?

[Answer] There was a survey representative of the last grade of post elementary schools. In addition, young people over 18 are included in appropriate proportions in each nationwide "contributory" sampling.

[Question] Do critical opinions also reach the government?

[Answer] In general people speak out very critically; such are the times we live in. After what is behind us, there are not too many people eager to praise politicians. We hear this on our office telephone 21-34-34 (available from 9 am to 7 pm). It is not the purpose of the center to improve the mood of the government. In the old days people were shortened by a head for delivering bad news; there is no danger of that for us. Gen Jaruzelski recently said "it would be impossible to govern in contemporary Poland without democracy, without taking public opinion into account, being committed only to one's own strengths, to one's own feeling for what is good and necessary for the country. Of course, it is necessary to become accustomed to democratic processes. True, it was once easier, simpler to make a decision, but as a result of this, it has become dramatically more difficult for us. Thus our assumption should be: the more difficult to govern, the better for our goals. The easier it is to wield power, the worse for the cause."

[Question] Do the results of the survey of young people concur with what is generally said about teenagers?

[Answer] Many things have been said. It turned out that contrary to what is thought about contemporary young people, they do not see themselves as devoid of ideals, as having no higher goals. But defining what is important to today's young people obviously causes them difficulty. They respond in generalities, citing ideals of education and existence (a high standard of living--housing, income--23.5%; education, knowledge--24.5%). They are letting us know of their apprehension about satisfying the fundamental needs of life.

Among specific goals and aspirations, young people prefer the values that have been unvarying for years--a good family life (84.8%), interesting work (64.9%), a circle of friends and acquaintances (26.6%) and a good income (25.9%). A considerable number (46.2% of those surveyed) admit that they are not given the opportunity, that no chance is created to achieve that to which they aspire. They perceive the reasons for this mainly in the currently prevailing economic crisis (38.3%) and in the underestimation, in the limitation of the opportunity for action by the older generation (the impossibility of proving oneself, blocking the path of advancement, 22%).

We should note that the kind of school and place of residence influence attitudes about their prospects. Students of primary trade schools and those living in the villages speak of the lack of opportunities to achieve their plans less frequently than secondary school students and those living in the cities.

That is it in summary. I would add that young Poles think very highly of the military.



[Question] What are the attitudes about the military?

[Answer] That was the subject of one of the surveys. In addition, on numerous occasions, when we ask about confidence in political institutions, one can see that the military invariably is placed very highly on the scale of confidence. The military has such a good reputation that even the festival in Kolobrzeg is not in a position to damage it.

[Question] ...?

[Answer] If I were to express my personal opinion about that performance, it would be harsh and critical. Fortunately we are talking about public opinion, which commends the military, as always, for service on behalf of the national economy and scientific and technological activity. A decisive majority approves of such specific duties during martial law as fighting profiteering (73%), maintaining public law and order (72%), activities of commissioners and operational groups (70%) and delegating some personnel to work in state administration (52%).

This positive attitude about the military is fairly widespread. From the point of view of the nation's defensive capability the armed forces are essential, while service in the military is required for some by virtue of statutory obligation and advantageous to others because it allows them to acquire a career or improve their qualifications. It is also socially useful since it trains and teaches resourcefulness and also supports various branches of the national economy and the development of science and technological progress.

The majority (71%), regardless of age, education or residence, acknowledge that constant improvement of the country's defensive strength and fortification of the country's military preparedness are justified and accept the necessity of service in the military (87% compared to 8% who see it as a waste of time).

[Question] Even the imposition of martial law didn't diminish this high opinion?

[Answer] In the beginning it did somewhat, but later emotions subsided and today it is easier to understand what threatened Poland if it hadn't been for the preemptive intervention of the armed forces. Now school children acknowledge foreign talk about the military dictatorship in Poland with a joke from the "old woman went to the doctor" series. An old woman goes to the doctor. She holds a piece of plywood with one hand, some cardboard with the other and protruding from under her skirt is something like a rifle. "What's bothering you?" the doctor asks. She replies, "the military dictatorship."

I heard that "joke" from my daughter, a high school student in Warsaw.

[Question] They say you collect such jokes.

[Answer] We collected them throughout 1984, but only political ones. I can say in advance that in general they are unprintable and please don't ask about them.

[Question] Jokes are also a kind of gauge of public feelings?

[Answer] Certainly. There was a period when one didn't hear jokes at all. Now everything is back to "normal." As is evident from the recent survey at the end of last year, hopes that things are getting better are expressed among the majority of respondents. Interest in political affairs has also grown and one sees an inclination to become involved in social matters important to one's own circle. The era of apathy and discouragement is passing and that was the worst. Without the personal involvement of citizens, especially young people, unfortunately we will not move ahead quickly. The future is being shaped today.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2600/759

POLAND

# WAT ELECTRONICS DIVISION CHIEF DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Mar 85 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Kazimierz Dzieciolowski, professor, deputy commander for science of the Military Technical Academy [WAT], by Major Janusz Sarosiek: "The Mind: The Most Valuable Asset"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Many years of service and major scientific and educational contributions have earned Colonel Kazimierz Dzieciolowski, professor and commander of the Electronics Department of the Military Technical Academy [WAT], an entry into the Military Book of Honor.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, how did your service and scientific career begin?

[Answer] The beginning of my career as a scientist was unusual. This can give solace to some students who attribute their difficulties in understanding electronics to their educational background in the humanities or, say, farm mechanization. Well, I graduated from... the Paper Industry Vocational School, and in 1948--when I was taking entrance exams at the Electrical Engineering Department of Gdansk Polytechnic--I knew more things about chemistry than about electronics, but soon I developed a very keen interest in it. My first contact with the military was when I joined the Academy Company at Gdansk Polytechnic. After graduating from the Polytechnic in 1951, I became a member of the research group at the Military Technical Academy which was just then being created.

[Question] Creating an academy from scratch must be exciting. Was there any other reason for your choice?

[Answer] I have some doubts in answering this question. It has been said that thinking too much about one's history is a sign that one's creative period has ended. For that reason, I would rather avoid reflecting too much on history, because we are more concerned with the future. Once a question has been asked, however, I have to say that we worked in conditions that were much more difficult than at present.

We lived in tents put up next to the department building. We quite often worked on the construction site and laid bricks with our hands and built our own laboratory equipment. But enthusiasm was stronger than all those shortages. Certainly, today, many look back at that time as a romantic period, but then it was not easy.

[Question] And yet three years after the start you had your first scientific results?

[Answer] The beginning of the success was rather remarkable. Our first scientific project was the measurement of the sun's radiation during the 1954 eclipse. It was one of those cases where no slip-up is admissible in research work. The astronomical events, such as an eclipse of the sun, do not wait for scientists. Our whole group realized that there would be no repeat experiment. The scope of assignments seemed to large for us to cope with, and yet, despite the primitive measurement equipment, the results were adequate. We felt a great relief. We understood that even under difficult conditions we would be able to conduct scientific research.

[Question] Was it this study of solar radiation that gave the first impetus to the interest that led to your current successes? I mean the creation of the first Polish laser under your direct guidance.

[Answer] Not at all. We did not look in the solar spectrum for the specific radiation typical for laser beams. At that time, no one thought of that. We were concerned with the noise characteristics of the sun and its influence on disruptions of communications and operation of radar. I was working on radar and microwaves at that time. I remember that we had built a large antenna for research which we directed towards the sun to receive the microwave radiation emitted by it. As to lasers, I was just one of its creators. We worked as a group. This was in the early 1960's, namely, in 1963. It so happened that laser technology was more understandable to those concerned with microwave research in the world, since we were already familiar with the generators of electromagnetic radiation in the microwave range, the so-called masers. This just left one short step to generators of intensive beams in the infrared region and later visible and ultraviolet light.

[Question] Lasers are a success for which WAT is best known in Poland. How did it come about?

[Answer] A sea of ink has been spent writing about it. I can say that we owe this success largely to the courage of our superiors as well as ourselves. Our superiors provided for us direct contact with the world results in this area. Great trust was placed in us, who were young at that time. We participated in one of the first world conferences on lasers. This gave us live contacts with science. When we began to work together with Puzewicz, who is now a professor and colonel, we realized that we were attempting a project almost unfeasible in our conditions.

Our youthful enthusiasm and courage helped us to soon overcome complexes. After all, we had seen a working laser made elsewhere in the world with our own eyes. If others could do that, why couldn't we?

[Question] Thanks to your work, Poland has become one of the first countries in the world to have its own laser. What benefits did it give us?

[Answer] Generally, I avoid all kinds of comparisons and statistics as to who holds what place in scientific competition. But, indeed, in the case of lasers we were fast to move. The first data on this subject appeared in the early 1960's and already in 1963 we had a gas laser and a solid-state laser. That was something. When we produced these two beams on the screen of an infrared transformer, the top celebrities came to see them, including the Premier and the President of the PAN. To us, this was the highest reward and recognition of our courage. After all, that laser was all we were living for! We neglected our families and forgot to eat, and one of our colleagues even made his bed in the laboratory on a sofa he borrowed from the guardroom, which was at the limit of what was allowed by regulations and probably beyond that limit... But he just couldn't bring himself to waste the time entailed in commuting! This colleague was Jerzy Majczyk, who is still working in our department.

What benefits? We certainly were at the head of the countries that implemented this technology. But lasers met with a fate similar to that of many other of our domestic inventions. The road from invention to industrial implementation turned out to be thorny for us as well. For example, the equipment, Glon, that we have developed for mining and which is badly needed has been in the process of construction already for... 10 years. This is a piece of equipment that helps detect and localize the miners who are buried underground after a mine collapse. Although all the parties concerned have a positive attitude, the introduction of this equipment into industrial operation has taken years. Many of the results of Polish science go to waste because there are no industrial products and there is no fast transition from practical applications and the exit to external markets with exports. There was a time when we could actually earn money with lasers, selling them abroad, but it was wasted in a bureaucratic tangle. And while deliberations went on as to which version to choose and who would undertake the industrial production, others began to offer us to buy lasers that they had built in the meantime...

I frankly admire some of my colleagues and subordinates, for instance, Dr. Jan Lozak, who for years spared no effort to bring that system to industrial realization, and when finally this became possible, we thought that this would be accomplished in a year or two, but it never occurred to us that it could take 10 years...

[Question] For 15 years you have been the commander of the Electronics Department. How did you rise to this post?

[Answer] In a certain period in the history of the WAT, soon after the Soviet specialists who helped us organize the academy left, it was not difficult to take the corresponding educational and scientific position. There were openings. I was a captain, but almost a chairman of the department. The scientific staff consisted of young people and relations were very friendly. Yet we should pay tribute to the courage of our superiors of that time. They staked a great deal on the young and did not lose. I had to command officers who were my senior in rank and age, and nobody was offended. What mattered was knowledge and qualifications. The situation is similar today, but it takes more patience to rise to higher positions of leadership in the academy. My start was rapid. My subsequent career was calm. I simply rose through the ranks via scientific and military promotion.

[Question] You belong to the generation of scientists who created the foundations of Polish electronics. Is the current state of this field adequate for our ambitions and capabilities?

[Answer] The beginnings of electronics at WAT could hardly be described as scientific work. In those conditions, every effort of repeating what already existed in the world was considered an accomplishment. We had nothing--not even the measurement equipment to test the performance of systems that we developed. That is where we had to start, designing the measurement equipment. Obviously, electronics in those years was easier. We worked with valves and tubes and everything was tangible, easier to visualize.

Today electronics is superminiaturized. One must understand the structure of matter and know solid-state physics to design electronic equipment of the fifth generation, as it is called today. Electronics today is not just more and more miniaturized, more and more reliable and fast working integrated circuits. This is also new materials and new technologies, including space research. It is possible to build in space crystals of unusual properties. In space, gravity forces do not interfere with the crystal lattice, and the structure of this lattice begins to have extreme importance when talking about miniaturization brought down to the molecular level.

Our task now is not just to do in Poland everything that has previously been done somewhere else in industrialized countries. Now we must learn fast and draw wise conclusions. When beginning a research project, we must project its future course and results. These must be closed cycles, so as to ensure that the results are not shelved. Otherwise, it's a waste of effort. General and Professor Kaliski said that if we do not improve the passage from research to industry, if we do not sell the modern technology, Poland will not count in the world.

Our country cannot live long by copper, coal and sulfur. This is not enough. We must increase the mining and sales of raw materials, but this

will not save us. We must attain the highest level of industrial production. Otherwise, our economy will not move forward. It will be moving backwards. Electronics is the area of modern technology where the greatest contribution is done by thinking, and the expense of raw materials and energy is small. Thought is the most precious commodity worth selling. I am saying here obvious truisms, but do most people realize that Poland is among the nations with the highest proportion of college graduates in the world? We have good colleges and laboratories that are equipped fairly well. All we need is the proper use of this potential. We must move fast to bring the new technologies into industrial production and sell thought embodied in new small "intelligent" electronic devices. We have a great opportunity to catch up with the industrialized nations.

[Question] What is the obstacle that stands in the way of this?

[Answer] What I am going to say will again sound trivial, but the fact is that we are limited by the so-called currency quota. We experience shortages of laboratory equipment, but, most importantly, we lack a system that would compel industry, and, more specifically, a chain of institutions that would ensure the utilization of scientific research results. Again, I can cite the view of Professor Kaliski, who once said that industry and trade should work as a "suction pump" to draw scientific results.

There are hopes that the economic reform and return to a regular economy will bring about that system.

[Question] The Military Technical Academy and its departments are rendering invaluable services for the nation's defense. This is the main purpose. What accomplishments in this area have been achieved by the Electronics Department?

[Answer] A whole issue of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI would be insufficient to list just by name the projects performed by this department for the army and the nation's defense. Many of these are of a confidential nature and cannot be described in view of military secrecy. We take a major part in the development of communications facilities, radar, computer technology, computerization and application of lasers. We are maintaining close contacts with the defense industry. Of the latest results I could mention is a small electronic telephone exchange for several hundred extensions, which is badly needed in our economy, and, of course, in our ministry. The Institute of Radiolocation has introduced into practice a great number of training and simulation devices increasing the operation scope of radars. We are working on about 20 other urgent projects for the army.

[Question] After 15 years of work at the Electronics Department, you have risen to the top post. What are your personal reflections about this?

[Answer] I have recently been promoted to the position of Deputy Commander of the Academy for Science. This is not going to be an easy job. In view of the importance of electronics in the modern world, I have for many years been a member of almost all military agencies having something to do with science. I have been on the board of related research institutes and have worked together with educational institutions of a related profile. This is probably the reason why it was decided that I could handle the new job.

Although I must say truthfully that it was sad to leave my "own" group, because after 15 years of work my department had become dear to me.

[Question] We wish you to achieve as many successes in your new position as you have in the old one. Thank you for the interview.

9922  
CSO: 2600/753



ROMANIA

DEMOCRATIZATION OF STATE SYSTEM EXTOLLED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 10 Mar 85 pp 31-34

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Aculin Cazacu: "Enhancement of the Process of State Democratization"/

/Text/ As it says in the Manifesto of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, "When you vote for the candidates of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, you are voting for consolidation of the unity and brotherhood of all workers regardless of nationality in the effort toward socialist Romania's progress and prosperity and for all its sons' participation with equal rights in social management and in building Romania's socialist and communist future."

The recent Congress of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, which adopted the documents of the 13th Party Congress as an electoral platform for the elections of deputies on 17 March, graphically illustrates the intensified process of social-political democratization. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, it marks the transition to "a new stage of the revolution, a stage of Romania's continued transformation and of development of the revolutionary process on a higher level securing Romania's steady advance toward the golden dream, the classless society and communist society!" The Third FDUS /Socialist Democracy and Unity Front/ lent a new and striking expression to the system of Romania's revolutionary workers democracy, wherein the people as masters of the political power and owners of the entire national wealth share directly in preparation and implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of the RCP and the Romanian state.

Vividly reflecting this basic fact of contemporary Romanian society, the coming elections are among the efforts to further improve the unified system of revolutionary workers democracy and mark an important point in the institution of decision-making structures for a new legislature that are characteristic of the operation of the socialist state.

The state organization of socialist society duly and inevitably goes through a particular evolution throughout the revolutionary process of building the new order. The origins of this evolution are to be found both in the reflections of the changes in the economic base of society in the institutional superstructures, and in the new relations that are established among the components of the existing institutional structure. Both aspects, in their interconnection, demonstrate an overall determinism of social organization and management and

bring out the profoundly dialectical nature of what Marx called the "social production organism" that the new society represents.

Experience in building Romanian socialist society as it has been built over the 40 and more years since the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation shows that the role and functions of the socialist state developed along with the quantitative accumulations and the qualitative changes in all social and production relations. Meanwhile the need naturally arose of reconsidering the characteristics of the state organization of the working-class power and the superstructure as a whole. And so after a period of formation of the historically new type of socialist state and as the radical revolutionary reforms opened the way to new forms of participation (direct ones especially), the definition of the state organization as a dictatorship of the proletariat lost its significance and ceased to have any explanatory or regulatory value, or any theoretical or practical justification. It had to be redefined, and the RCP and its secretary general, upon analyzing the changes that had taken place in the ways and means of exercising the power, defined the new stage of the actual Romanian state as one of revolutionary workers democracy. Not being merely ideological, the change reflects the objective trend toward development of a new political and organizational practice whereby the Romanian socialist state has become "the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the common activity of the entire people and of the entire nation," as Nicolae Ceausescu described it in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of RCP Central Committee in June 1982.

In this new view all state activity, in dialectical coordination with that of the party as the vital center of Romanian society, has acquired new attributes the exercise of which organizes all revolutionary experience around some qualitatively new and better characteristics that are constantly enriched and diversified. In this way the state becomes responsible to the people and their representatives for the entire activity of its organs. The masses acquire a generalized social control over the state's activity. The indicators for evaluating state management are focused upon responsibility. The state's role is amplified in securing balanced and proportional social development and in resolving the contradictions, gaps and discrepancies among activities. The role of unified management of economic and social development according to the Unified National Plan is increased. A new relationship of close coordination is instituted between the state organs' activity and that of the new democratic bodies, especially those for workers self-management. The functions of the local state organs are broadened, and the electoral system is improved.

And so there is the source of a new structural and operational framework for state activity that basically establishes the compatibility of the principle of developing the state's role in uniform social management with that of extending and improving the uniform system of workers socialist democracy. And accordingly the whole process of democratizing state activity goes on under the administration of the party as the leading political force of Romanian socialist society.

#### Development of the State's Role and Purposeful Social Participation

The special emphasis in the Report to the 13th Party Congress upon development of the socialist state's role in the present and future stages is a political-

regulatory reflection of the changes that have been made in the nature and purposes of the state's activity in Romania.

It also reflects the direction of the future courses of state activity and of the amplification of the typically socialist traits that the whole organization of Romanian society is acquiring.

Accordingly the very meanings of the term "role of the state" are changing. As the people's supreme representative, the state is called upon to serve the interests of the social classes and categories and of all workers collectives more efficiently and to rationalize its functions by eliminating red tape, bureaucracy and cursory routine and always correlating its activity with that of the broadly democratic mechanisms for participation. Meanwhile considerable restructuring is among the operational priorities of the state organs, characterized by reduction of the repressive functions and strengthening and improvement of the functions of uniform management and organization of all economic and social activity. These objective trends have their origin in the present developmental stage of the economy and society, in the intensified democratism of all society, and in the expanded social practice of all workers' participation in the solution of problems of national development.

Moreover in close connection with the uniform, centralized management of society operational functions are being transferred to the bodies of the state organization that are closer to the immediate needs of a given field and the direct mechanisms of workers self-management. To this effect, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Report to the 13th Party Congress that "We must take very firm action to increase the role and responsibility of the workers collectives in every ministry as well as the role and functions of the centrals. As plan administrators they must provide for uniform management of the respective activities while increasing the role and functions of the workers councils and general assemblies, who are responsible for the good management of the portion of the national wealth entrusted to the respective collectives..."

Diversifying the state organs' functions by way of bringing management closer to the actual dynamism of economic and social activity brings about not only a greater knowledge and efficiency of the action but also a more pronounced "transparency," so to speak, of the mechanism of state activity, favoring and encouraging the exercise of social control as an essential lever of mass participation in management. I think this aspect must be examined because the political and sociological studies in the current non-Marxist and anticommunist literature specially emphasize the idea of "codification of the institutional mechanisms," "obscuring the decision," and restricting the masses' democratic control over what goes on "behind closed doors." Ignorance of the facts as well as confusion of "uniform management" with "excessive centralism" (The latter, in fact, is opposed in the RCP documents and in practice as well) can lead to treatment of the problems of state organization under socialism with conceptual structures that are not valid.

The democratic "transparency" of the state organs' activity is unquestionably the result of a highly complex process that does not take place automatically but through delegation of responsibility from top to bottom via the hierarchies of state activity, and not through institution of workers' control in itself apart

from any explicitly or clearly formulated objectives aimed at the heart of the activity that would competently separate the priorities from the secondary, less significant aspects of the work. But as a revolutionary process combining the major trends of the state's receptiveness to the direct experience of the workers and workers collectives, coordination of the respective state bodies' activities and those of the local state organs with those of the new workers' democratic structures is proving to be a general and significant indicator of the growing democratization of the Romanian state in connection with the broader structure and richer content of social participation. The "transparency" of state activity and the continuing and progressive "decodification" of the role and functions of the state bodies in Romania reflect the institution of a new democratic reality implemented both from top to bottom and from bottom to top and both on the levels of the primary economic and social units, the localities and the areas and on the national level.

The extensive system of workers self-management, in correlation with that of the national congresses and conferences on activities operationally reflects a general practice of democracy that uniformly covers the entire field of social relations. In Romania this practice is served in an original way by institutionalizing some new and significant structures for participation. We mean, for example, the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, which combines the features of state, party and public organs and which has been operating since 1982 as an institutionalized level with the broad deliberative and democratic functions of an Economic Legislative Chamber and a true economic parliament. This structure discusses and reviews all economic laws, the plan and other measures before they are submitted to the supreme legislative authority, the Grand National Assembly. We are also referring to the activity of the National Council of Workers in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Circulation of Goods and Finance and to that of the National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management. A distinct and highly significant part in the system of democratic participation is played by the Central Council for Workers Control of Economic and Social Activity, a body with major regulatory functions founded in the working-class spirit of Romanian democracy. And in its turn the most extensive democratic political body, the FDUS, combines a great many political, mass and public organizations, professional associations, artists' unions etc. that help under party guidance to carry out the programs for national development, lending full political and organizational expression to the Romanian people's socialist unity and to all citizens' participation regardless of nationality in the management of all political and social activity.

These are general and widely representative bodies concentrating, on the level of political, strategic and long-range planning, the results of direct combination of the activities of the primary state organs (both regional and according to fields) with those of the workers councils, the various democratic bodies, and the mass and public organizations, which are harmoniously represented in all the management structures.

The citizens' widespread participation in the activities of the people's councils (consistently democratic organs of regional self-administration and self-management) is illustrative of the latter, as well as the innovations of the Tribune of Democracy, the organization of the citizens' control teams, the activities of the tenants' associations and citizens' committees, the citizens'

assemblies, and the various forms of discussion of questions of community interest (meetings with deputies, roundtables, symposia, etc.).

The many bodies for democratic decision-making and discussion that have been operating for several years in Romania present a unique picture of the combined functions of the state and the new democratic bodies. Under these circumstances social participation is acquiring new qualities and becoming an essential form of human involvement in the strategy of collective thought that is purposeful, operational, innovating, critical and self-critical.

Accordingly the socialist state's role is becoming the expression of the objective necessity not only of strengthening uniform social organization and management but also of intensifying the masses' direct, democratic participation in preparation, adoption and control of the implementation of decisions, just as participation essentially requires constant improvement of the content and forms of state organization and more intensive involvement of the state in the solution of the particular problems of development. In their interdependence, the state's activity and that of the new democratic bodies bring out the dialectics of the process of instituting the new reality that is the uniform system of revolutionary workers democracy.

The complete incorporation of the energies of the masses and all the forces of the nation in an integrated view and a system of effective participation is reflected in one way or another both in the political awareness of the masses and in the political content of the state's activity. It fosters the kind of decision of an explicitly community nature, with real results in serving the various interests of the categories of workers in the general framework of converging vital interests on the scale of society as a whole. In the context of direct participation the functions of control, regulation and self-regulation in the area of the state organs' functions are performed more intensively and in an efficient and timely fashion, sharply distinguishing the effective action of management in Romanian socialist society from the narrow and manipulative politicians' practices cultivated in the areas of the bourgeois state organization and from that "political industry" that even some analysts of western society invoke.

Meanwhile improvement of the Romanian state's political activity is correlated with a new trend in the legal functions. In recent years legislative activity has been increasingly democratized, the subjects of legislative initiative have been considerably expanded, and public discussion of draft laws has been fully established. The evolution of the legal functions of the state organization is based upon the masses' new legal awareness and upon control of observance of socialist legality under all circumstances.

The improvement of the content and mechanisms of the state's political and legal functions proves that there are great reserves of operational potential in the superstructures of Romanian society, which potential is being realized in accordance with the improvement of all social and production relations. A trend that illustrates this and has been extensively asserted in recent years is that toward pronounced activation of the moral factors and of socialist ethics in the regulation of social relations. Against this background of dialectical connections, which combine very diverse factors in a uniform operational model, new experience has been acquired in basing human relations upon the principles of



justice, in enriching the social content of the concept of responsibility, in further subordinating political and legal actions to the requirements of revolutionary humanism, in equalizing the opportunities for social acceptance and advancement (educational, cultural, political, professional etc.) in all environments, in activating the organs for prompt resolution of civic problems and concerns, etc. Essentially, the representative character of the Romanian socialist state has been enriched by new instrumental qualities of its organs in dealing with human problems and by the institution of the field of specifically humanistic relations. We may say that the RCP and its secretary general regard improvement of state activity as a comprehensive dialectical process wherein improvement of the state mechanisms is by no means an end in itself but is mainly subordinated to the purposes of creating a new, socialist way of life and making increasingly good use of the advantages of socialist development for solving human problems.

In this respect further democratization of state activity and assimilation, in the superstructure, of the practice of social participation are the real essentials for a general revolutionary procedure for anticipating the characteristics of communist organization and formation of the broadest community structure for regulating social relations. The 13th Party Congress made important decisions on this subject by realistically analyzing the processes characteristic of Romanian society and by clarifying the major aims of implementing the communist type of institutional structuring of Romanian society in the future.

#### State Democratism As a Factor for Accelerated Intensive Development

The transition to intensive economic and social development, for which the decisions of the 13th Party Congress provide an extensive program, is a radical qualitative change in the whole strategy of building the fully developed socialist society. To be sure the intensive quality is not confined to economic activity alone, but the latter plays a predominant and controlling role.

Intensified state democratism requires the institution and constant improvement of a new model of state-participative activity that will fully meet the distinctive requirements of the strategy for intensive development. Playing a vital part in organization and management of all economic and social activity, the Romanian state is an institutional embodiment of the levers for further growth of socially effective material production and of socialist accumulation in order to exploit all economic progress for human purposes. In this connection improvement and intensification of state democratization have one of the major political indicators of their historical mission and their responsibility to the entire people.

State democratism in Romania is accordingly validated in connection not only with its own mechanisms for participation or the ones of other systemic components of socialist democracy but also with the way it assumes all responsibility, in providing scientific social management, to the workers for the consequences of its organs' performance of their functions. Nicolae Ceausescu's statements on the rostrum of the 13th Party Congress about the great importance of knowledge and application of the objective laws, when he was pointing out the requirements for improvement and best operation of the new economic-financial mechanism, are of particular theoretical and practical importance from this viewpoint. As he said,

"Interpretation and application of the general economic laws must serve the purpose of improving the socialist production method and the social and production relations and forces. Let us apply the economic laws purposefully, eliminating their independent action as well as voluntarism. The new economic-financial mechanism must uniformly combine socialist ownership and the socialist production method with a widespread initiative and material incentive of the masses."

Accordingly those are some essential features of the new economic base of socialist democracy and of the Romanian socialist state's activity in this field.

Elimination of any voluntarist tendency, prevention of arbitrary and subjective approaches, and exacting substantiation of the plan provisions and the whole decision-making system are distinctive characteristics of the process of intensified state democratization. But as experience itself indicates, those standards require not only complete mastery of the science of management but also regular correlation of the mechanisms of the state structure with the workers' direct experience and clarification from within them of the trends that develop in the course of application of the general laws to the particular specific conditions. By the same token those laws cannot be allowed to operate haphazardly and apart from any purposeful action to forestall disruptive contradictions with uncontrollable effects.

In view of this theoretical-regulatory structure, the intensive and effective character of state activity depends upon knowledge and sound analysis of the facts, a pronounced improvement in the political and professional training of the state activists, and performance of their functions with economic and social-political competence. The representative character of the state in keeping with all workers' interests, which is a general characteristic of Romanian society's democratism, consequently calls for increasing scientific rationalization of the state organization's activity and assumption of responsibility for the decisions adopted and especially for their long-term consequences.

To be sure any "elitist" or "technocratic" practices or tendencies are foreign to Romanian society by its nature. A dialectical view is taken of the preeminence of the politician in social management and the relationship of compatibility and integration between the politicians and scientists. But that certainly does not mean that the quality of personnel is a secondary consideration. On the contrary, in this vital field training and the ability to cope with the complex problems of development must be constantly improved. Moreover the program provisions of the 13th RCP Congress provide the broadest field now for meeting the growing demands of the new technical-scientific revolution. The main trends of scientific research, technological development and introduction of technical progress are intended to secure more pronounced growth of economic effectiveness and to make revolutionary changes in industry, agriculture and all sectors. Accordingly the democratic content of the activity of the state organs on all levels is reflected in their greater capacity to cover all activities uniformly, to develop the qualitative aspects of the work in all state functions, to select and advance the best personnel for this purpose, and to introduce a new kind of state activist.

The party general secretary's points about the systemic nature of the economic processes and the necessity of not impairing in any way the uniform management

of economic and social activity according to the Uniform Plan. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "No change can be made in the production structure without a general reorganization of the economy or a sector according to the new needs and tasks." Therefore in forming a uniform structure the state's initiative is based upon an overall view of the interdependences of the national economy, which calls for intensive development of the masses' creative powers and of advanced economic thought, improvement of the state activists' political and ideological training, and elimination of any narrow views and any "localistic" economic adjustments of the decisions that bring some temporary local benefits but may conflict with the general laws and with the common general interests of society.

As a broadly comprehensive process, therefore, state democratism is being intensified by improving the practice of delegating authority to the state activists under the qualitative political control of the party and the workers in their close interdependence. Encouragement, in close connection with workers control, of the social initiative and material incentive of the masses is an integral part of this process. In pointing out that management according to the Uniform National Plan requires expansion and correlation of the role and functions of the ministries and centrals (state bodies) and of the workers councils (directly democratic bodies) as well, Nicolae Ceausescu also said that "This must be done on the principle of democratic centralism, which harmoniously combines the extensive initiative of the masses and the workers councils with the principle of uniform management of all sectors. He also pointed out that "Every unit's initiative must be reflected in exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks, in technical and qualitative improvement of production, and in further improvement of economic activity."

Every condition has been created in Romanian society for the increasingly pronounced conversion of social initiative into a mass movement. We think the concept itself of social initiative requires some redefining, with emphasis on better coverage of the purposeful factors and intensive purposes of the new mass movement of democratic participation in the management of all socioeconomic activity. In the present stage mass initiative is becoming an increasingly vital cultural factor for intensive development, a reflection of higher motivation for work dependent upon the close correlation between democracy and social responsibility. Under these circumstances the accentuated democratism of the Romanian socialist state necessarily requires the action of all stimulating institutional levers to develop mass initiative and to accept and process the new in a uniform way. In this way initiative can become a generalized social practice, enriching its strictly psychosocial qualities and asserting itself more and more effectively as a real material force for progress. Beyond its structural determinations, social initiative is also a comprehensive indicator of purposeful historical creativeness and of the ways of coordinating state activity with the revolutionary experience of the masses in a democratic structure with a higher human content characteristic of the socialist kind of all-around intensive development that Romanian society is accomplishing in the present stage and for the future.

5186

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4 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## ATTITUDINAL SURVEY OF SECONDARY SCHOOLERS IN SPLIT NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1781, 17 Feb 85  
pp 18-21

[Interview with Boris Vuskovic, professor at University of Split Economics Department; date and place not specified]

[Text] Examination of the recent past shows that our SK [League of Communists] has not escaped the historical fate of every victorious party that has assumed power; it has become complacent. Have we consciously or unconsciously repressed the idea of communism and glorified the classic bourgeois virtues of material possessions? Who was surprised by the nationalist euphoria (in Split and elsewhere), and what is the source of the religious ferment among young people?

Continuing its investigation of the roots of the economic and social crisis in Yugoslavia, NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE interviewed Boris Vuskovic, sociologist and professor at the economics department of Split University. How and in what area of our life does this prominent researcher and sociologist see the roots of the crisis?

[Answer] The debate about our socioeconomic crisis is marked today by several clear-cut trends, mostly of a partial nature. The key to our problems is most often found in the disruption of the world economy. And there is unquestionably a fair amount of truth in this, but in my opinion the world economic troubles are more a catalyst than a cause of our crisis. The one-time relatively high standard of living in Yugoslavia concealed our major problems in the era of consumer mentality, from crude voluntarism, carelessness, and distortion of the self-management concept to erosion of the legal and moral conscience and behavior. The world economic difficulties merely revealed many things of which we alone are the authors and for which we alone are accountable.

Consequently, when world economic consequences are taken into consideration, the League of Communists must not fail to be brought up in any discussion of our own sources of the crisis. The League of Communists is the alpha and the omega, the beginning and end of every discussion, positive or negative, since it is the dominant political force in our society. The specific social position of the League of Communists derives from the fact that it is unquestionably the only sociopolitical force capable of resolving the social crisis, but is also an accomplice in this crisis. This complicity is the result of certain

long-term negative processes in Yugoslav society, the fundamental responsibility of the League of Communists being that in its dual social function it has been considerably more successful as agent and apologist than as critic of our society.

Why has it been a better apologist than critic? Above all because our League of Communists has not escaped the historical fate of every victorious party that has assumed power. As you know, every holder of power is limitlessly satisfied with himself.

[Question] What, in your opinion, are the consequences of the insufficiently critical and self-critical approach of the League of Communists?

[Answer] The immense and varied consequences may be observed both at the objective social level and in the area of social consciousness. This lack of self-criticism, which was constituted primarily as an apotheosis of state and party forums, from the municipal to the federal level, gave rise in the economic sphere to absurdities such as the Obrovac, Fenija, and other failures for which we will atone for a long time to come and to the creation of a state of mind of the citizen which inhibited the immense creative energy of the masses and to a great extent alienated them from some of our fundamental social ideals. I ask you, who still takes communism seriously as a social vision?

You know that when you say to a person today that communist conviction has a profound human content of its own which can give meaning to human existence and action, people regard you either as a careerist who tells fairy tales and wants to cash in on them or as an outmoded specimen from the distant past, a kind of dinosaur.

#### Communism as an Ideal

It seems that this idea, for which our parents and thousands of others died, has receded too far into the distance and that in the social consciousness (whenever it still persists there at all) it has been moved approximately to where believers place God, in heaven, the universe, that is, beyond social reality. So we have lived to see the day on which Reagan is elected personage of the year. It goes without saying that this selection conceals highly significant social decisions, which are more pernicious to our society than our foreign debts. This intellectual climate was summed up succinctly by one of my students, who said "The myths are crazy, professor; the main thing is to change the game."

Consequently, it is not just that a part of the middle-aged and older generation has to a great extent capitalized on it, or avidly desires it, but also that we have largely lost our influence on young people. After all, what else could we expect? In a situation of exceptional increase in social differences and inequalities, when the spectrum extends over the range from elementary social peril to worldwide bourgeois behavior, we probably should not have expected our attractiveness to increase. It may be said in passing that no part of the

trouble is that our economic inequalities are the result of labor, since in that case they could in their own way have an incentive effect; they would at least be in line with our decisions. But our wealth is universally known to be anything but the result of labor. And so this pernicious mindset has come into being.

If only my viewpoints were made up extempore or represented merely unjustified personal pessimism. Unfortunately, these positions are confirmed by the results of many studies. Hence it is pointless to try to deceive; this would benefit no one, and the League of Communists least of all.

[Question] You recently completed a study on secondary school students in Split. Do the results confirm your viewpoints?

[Answer] For 20 years now my colleagues and I have been conducting sociological studies, especially in Dalmatia. In mid-1984, at the request of the League of Socialist Youth of Split, we surveyed 800 Split secondary school students, that is, about 15 percent of the total population. This is an extremely high percentage for a survey. From the scientific viewpoint we were extremely meticulous in working up the sample, being aware of the possibility of criticism if the results were to be politically undesirable. To this end we devoted particular care to working class school students (future electricians, machinists, lathe operators, etc). The young people of the youth organization wanted to learn, on the basis of a scientific study, the things that young people attach importance to and what they think about themselves and the society in which they live. I must say that we were shocked by what we learned, especially after comparing the results of the 1984 survey with the results of studies conducted over the previous 10 years. The trends are markedly negative.

On the other hand, we must stress that it is a question of a younger generation whose parents were brought up under our "sponsorship." Furthermore, they are mostly urban children, and as many as two-thirds of their fathers are workers and their mothers housewives, and one-fourth of their fathers are members of the SK. Consequently, it is a question of a generation with a markedly positive sociopolitical "pedigree." This fact is highly significant for evaluation of the attitudes of the younger generation.

#### Self-Management by Acclamation

[Question] Would you cite some of the specific results of the survey?

[Answer] The first thing that I should like to call attention to is their positive attitude toward self-management, an aspect of extremely great importance to us. One-half of the persons surveyed replied to the question "What does socialist self-management mean to you?" by saying that it is a genuine realization of the ideals of democracy and socialism, while one-fourth hold self-management to be an important ideal, but one which is not feasible in practice. The remaining one-fourth supported the position that self-management does not differ from other social relationships or that "social self-management"

is merely a commonplace phrase and slogan. This distribution of replies unquestionably indicates a positive attitude toward self-management, along with a goodly measure of skepticism which represents criticism of our practices rather than rejection of self-management.

This dissatisfaction with the concrete social situation is reflected in the aloofness of young people from politics. More than two-thirds (68 percent) of those polled answered the question "How much are you interested in politics" by saying that it interests them "little or not at all." This was twice as many as in 1968, when this answer was given by only one-third of those polled. This negative attitude toward political commitment surely derives from their highly critical idea of the possibility of influencing political life in Yugoslavia.

You see, when we asked them "who really creates political life in Yugoslavia, those in the self-management system, public opinion, influential individuals, or sociopolitical organizations as a whole," we obtained an interesting ranking of their views of things. Exactly one-half of those polled think that the decisive influence in our political life is exerted by the sociopolitical organizations as a whole, and after them by influential individuals or groups (45 percent). However, almost two-thirds (61 percent) of those polled think that those in the self-management system have "little or no influence," and more than three-fourths (78 percent) maintain that "public opinion has almost influence." It goes without saying that, with things viewed in this light, they understandably are not attracted by political commitment.

This is also reflected in the fact that there has been a sharp decline in their interest in becoming members of the League of Communists. While in 1968 more than one-third of those polled wanted to join the SK, this figure has now been cut in half, since only 15 percent want to join the SK, and the number of those who do not want to be members has doubled (46 percent).

A similar trend is observed in their choice of persons with whom they identify themselves. While in 1968 Lenin was at the very top of the list, since 40 percent of those polled selected him, Lenin with 5 percent of votes is now at the bottom of the ladder, along with Princess Caroline of Monaco. These are things to which serious thought must be given, since they are an indicator of a long-term rating of the political behavior of young people.

#### Poor Rating of Work

[Question] How did work fare in your study as a basic characteristic and social value?

[Answer] Rather poorly, and probably rightly so. We asked our interviewees what in their opinion is the best way of succeeding in life today, and gave them a choice of different responses: through knowledge, work, by means of a diploma, by aggressiveness, through connections, by luck. When a list of their responses was compiled, it was found that 83 percent of all those polled think that connections and acquaintances are essential for success in life, and almost

the same number (79 percent) believe that aggressiveness is an indispensable prerequisite for success. Accordingly, almost two-thirds of those polled believe that work and knowledge have little or no influence on success in life.

It is disastrous to our society, but the responses probably reflect our social reality to a high degree. Lastly, even if there is not an iota of truth in it, again it is extremely significant that the younger generation thinks this way, since this will have a decisive influence on its behavior. Consequently, whoever reads these results seriously will find a number of answers which we supposedly are lacking.

[Question] How did the church and religious belief fare in the survey?

[Answer] Unlike work and knowledge, very good. Of the total number of persons polled, 52 percent stated that they are religious, about 28 percent that they are indifferent, and 19 percent that they are atheists. Two factors are of importance in evaluating this distribution. On the one hand, Dalmatia has always been an area with a higher than average percentage of identification with religious belief, and the percentage relative to other areas of Yugoslavia should be evaluated in this context. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that young people, along with the most aged, always make up the most religious group, which later more or less rapidly breaks up.

However, serious consideration should be given to the fact that the percentage of religious persons among young people is extremely high in relation to the previous surveys, this indicating increase in religious feeling among young people. In the survey conducted in 1968, only 32 percent of secondary school youth was religious, the percentage being exactly the same as that of atheists. The percentage of religious persons has nearly doubled. Really to burst the bubble of our illusions we must point out that the most religious segment of secondary school youth in Split is working class school youth. The average percentage of religious persons amounts to 52 percent, but among working class school youth the percentage of religious persons amounts to 59 percent, and 45 percent among the youth of families in non-production occupations. The difference obviously is not insignificant.

[Question] You have completed your survey. What will happen now?

[Answer] Neither I nor my colleagues can give you a definite answer as to what will happen with the results of this survey. I am certain that the League of Communist Youth of Split will utilize them for assessments and actions of its own. These young people are mature, as is after all shown by the fact that they have wanted to gain an insight into young people's mental attitudes. However, I have observed that many persons who should be extremely interested in this survey have not shown any great desire to analyze the results and their social significance. There are even many who, having learned of results not to their liking, have tried to discount their value by asking the classical skeptical questions: wasn't the sample distorted, didn't we accidentally come across the "wrong" interviewees, and so forth. This, of course, is a typical feature of our political mindset: if results are "inconvenient," they automatically are not authentic.

[Question] What, in your opinion, has happened among young people?

[Answer] Of course, when it is a question of young people, the roots of some of their "undesirable" ideas and attitudes are unquestionably to be sought in the fact that our social problems are being brought to a head by the younger generation; there are young people among us who have been "problems" since their birth: there is not enough space in nurseries and day care centers. The merciless struggle for achieving one's profession begins in the secondary school and is intensified in the university department, and finally the young people join the lines at the employment offices. I will try to compare them with my own generation. Admittedly, we were half-hungry and half-naked (the rationing coupons!), but society always welcomed us with open arms. We were not a "problem" but the hope of this society. Hence it is not surprising that in great numbers we were work group leaders, shock workers, SKOJ members, and communists. No, we really needed no god, since we held our fate firmly in our own hands. But as the ancient Latins said, tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis (the times change and we along with them).

What, then, has changed? It is too much to expect to be able to elaborate all this properly within the limits of an interview. Although I am aware of the unsuitability of the scientific approach, as well as the danger of oversimplification, I will point out at least a few things.

One of the fundamental differences between us and the new young generation lies in the fact that we lived poorly but grew up in a situation of unprecedented social enthusiasm, when our economic growth rate was among the highest in the world, while the younger generation is encountering a protracted crisis bringing with it a large number of essential problems like unemployment and rapid decline in the standard of living, including even a temporary shortage of basic vital necessities (from flour to electric current). On the other hand, we never associated our difficulties with subjective social forces.

Exactly the opposite is true; we associated all our successes with them. Today this obviously is not the case, but this should not force us into vain, unself-critical reactions.

#### Start and Finish

The economic crisis is, of course, reflected in all spheres of social life, from culture to politics. We are witnessing a serious corrosion of our unity. Everyone sees in someone else the source of his misfortunes and dangers, this giving rise to distrust and accusations, and our social situation is somewhat assuming the aspect of that before the war. Of course, this has made topical certain outmoded ideas about overcoming our crisis, from bringing in "new faces," something which would return us to Orwellian horizons, to the bourgeois parliamentarism of the past, which would probably take us back forever. Thus it seems to me that it is extremely important to remain reasonable and determine how we got into this situation, to prevent it from arising again. This is definitely a complicated and responsible task which cannot be discharged merely

with slogans. In this search it is necessary above all to establish a democratic social relationship, not in proclamations but in actual fact. In my opinion, not a single discussion, as I have already stated, can bypass the SK as the leading force in society. And much has happened to, and is still happening to, this force.

Let us take up the factors in order, although in a laconic style, including, of course, the defects of such an approach.

Firstly, what social prospects did a prewar party member have? Several years imprisonment at hard labor. Hence only convinced communists belonged to it. However, with the victory of the revolution and assumption of power the party became attractive to persons who are not communists. And what do we observe? Over the entire postwar period it gained members by leaps and bounds, accepting more than 1 million members over the most recent period. This wholesale acceptance of members was carried out without application of any serious political criterion. And so some of the political traits of the SK changed, and there was essential modification of the class structure of its membership. Some of the social variations in its membership almost mirror the demographic developments. Up to the beginning of the 1960's the SK essentially represented an alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the peasantry rapidly replaced by office workers as a more significant stratum during the statist period. This was followed by an ongoing invasion of the middle classes, who in all respects rendered the working class marginal, so that today workers make up the smallest membership contingent in the SKJ. This social class structure of the SKJ membership, coupled with the disappearance of political ideological criteria, naturally could not fail to affect both the class content of the SK and its ability to act. Hence the SK membership has been less and less able to produce a program of its own, and more and more often has the leadership appealed to this membership in those well-known letters.

Secondly, the League of Communists initiated a sweeping self-management transformation of society, calling itself into question as the party in power. However, the League of Communists failed to accompany the self-management transformation of society to a suitable extent with changes in its own essence; it continued to be the party in power. For this reason we have never even come near realizing the political concept of a self-managed society. The other sociopolitical organizations have never grown accustomed to the political front concept. In effect, the League of Communists is today the only active, mass party, since the other sociopolitical organizations are distinctly of the nature of purely formal forums, almost skeleton organizations, being reduced for the most part to professional forum bodies. Hence also the upsurge in SK membership, since to be outside the SK to a large extent means to be out of political activities.

Thirdly, in keeping with our highly complex social reality, self-management processes in Yugoslavia have taken place as a kind of decentralization of power, as a transfer of power from federal agencies to agencies of the republics, provinces, and communities. Nevertheless, however absolutely necessary this process may have been, it must be borne in mind that decentralization and polycentrism of power are not the same thing as democratization of power.



On the contrary, polycentralism of power as a reduced self-management relationship, coupled with the technocratic structure of SKJ membership, has more and more disregarded self-management as democratization of power. Thus far our self-management system has remained at the level of division of power in federal and republic-province relationships, but has not affected the vital relationships in the organization of associated labor. This is why I personally do not attach great importance to the very bitter discussions about changes in laws and regulations governing our political system, since these discussions halt the self-management process on the line between the federal government and the republics and make no contribution to realization of self-management in the basic units of social life.

In defending its areas of power, the technocracy has refeudalized Yugoslavia, seeking its strongpoints less and less in class homogenization and more and more in territorial and national homogenization. Hence the complaints of "alien" nationalisms, while proclaiming one's own nationalism benign or even positive; it is always stressed that people should above all mind their own business. This refeudalization sometimes assumes tragicomic proportions, especially in athletics, from choice of the soccer selector to the farce of the Shibenka-Bosna soccer game.

#### Nationalism: What Has Happened to Us

Of course, only a person with no political acuity at all would deny the complexity of the Yugoslav social community. But this does not mean that its harmony of diversity can be achieved by the existing isolationist approaches.

[Question] Professor Vuskovic, even now as this interview is in progress nationalist escalations have taken place in many areas, including Dalmatia and especially in Split. Can your survey help us to answer at least in part the question being asked today: what is the source in "Red Split" of the chauvinism and fascistoid trends precisely among young people?

[Answer] The survey you refer to has not yet been completed to an extent permitting a substantive assessment and an attempt to find in the responses of young people the causes of the nationalist excesses which have truly shocked us. However, there are some questions and some answers in our survey which are highly suggestive of heightened nationalist awareness among young people. For example, 18 percent of the secondary school students of Split surveyed answered the question "what is your opinion of national equality of rights in our country?" by saying that this equality has been fully achieved, but 28 percent maintained that full equality of rights of the peoples and nationalities has not been achieved and cite this circumstance as one of the basic causes of the major problems in our country. Just as suggestive is the item that twice as many of those polled think that nationalism will increase in the future. Furthermore, the fact that a certain number of national barriers have been erected which can provide a solid basis for nationalism is to be seen from the fact that 21 percent of those surveyed told us that they would "never select a person of another nationality as a spouse, regardless of whether the person is suitable in all



other respects." All this indicates that the nationalistic upsurge cannot be explained outside the general context of social occurrences, since social crises are known to be especially sharply reflected by young people.

[Question] Many among us say that they are surprised by this eruption of chauvinism. Is the sociologist also surprised?

[Answer] No, I am not surprised and have not been taken unawares. In a crisis of dominant ideas and a value system crisis it is natural for traditionally "tried and tested" behavior and values, and in this context nationalism and religious sentiment as well, to be rehabilitated.

At this point I would like to offer my own opinion regarding all these concrete manifestations of nationalism of which we have been speaking. Can we be certain that in our assessment that all these nationalistic excesses, especially those to which we are highly sensitive because they call up the worst specters of our history, Pavelic and Mihajlovic, are always the expression of a clear-cut political commitment to the "ideals" of these specters?

Why shouldn't we try to analyze these excesses also as a reaction to a lack of perspective among young people and less as a political decision? I really do not believe that these children know who Pavelic was and what he offered and did. I only want to say, finally, in connection with the survey we have been discussing, that if the results of the survey point us in any direction, it is in that of the requirement that we promptly enhance the prospects of young people and not tell them that we will solve their unemployment problem in 10 years, and that we not regard young people merely as a social problem; the impression is given that some people believe that the easiest way to solve this problem would be for the young to cease to exist.

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YUGOSLAVIA

# INNOVATIONS IN LEGISLATION AFFECTING MILITARY DUTY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1782, 24 Feb 85  
pp 20-22

[Article by Stanoje Jovanovic: "From the Star to the General's Baton"]

[Text] With what chances for advancement in the service will a couple of young noncommissioned officers with second lieutenant's stars on their epaulets and military academy diplomas in their pockets assume their first duties as non-commissioned officers as early as July? Which command and other responsibilities and positions in the military organization can they objectively count on at the threshold of their military careers, provided that they advance neither more rapidly nor more slowly than what usually falls within the limits of the average? How many of their "classmates" will reach the highest ranks in the JNA [Yugoslav National Army]--lieutenant colonels, colonels, or even generals?

Fairly reliable answers are offered by the new Law on Service in the Armed Forces that was adopted in the middle of last week at a meeting of the Federal Council of the SFRY Assembly, after several years of preparations at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, together with the usual assembly procedure and considerable publicity. This is the basic "statutory" law for the armed forces, a sort of army law on associated labor, and even more on work relations.

Let us go back again to the provisions and conditions under which noncommissioned officers will advance in the service.

In provisions throughout the law, automatism in advancement is reduced to the least possible extent, and an almost negligible number of so-called guaranteed ranks. The extent to which a noncommissioned officer will climb high on the military ladder will depend most on the success of the unit or establishment that he commands or leads, and on his own performance. Work, however, is measured by the long accepted military measurement--the service evaluation.

Every noncommissioned officer, in his personal data (depending on the length of service), has more or fewer service evaluations (in which particular weight is given to the recent ones), which is a certain feature of the way in which work in the military organization is monitored and assessed, and there are probably no similar examples in society, although to tell the truth, it is difficult to

measure the work of noncommissioned officers, since there is a whole range of various duties that they perform, from those in the troop, where to put it in military terms priority is given to the training and education of the young ones in the uniform, to work in several scientific, educational, health care, and production establishments. The criteria that have already been drawn up, and to some extent put into effect, cover about 20 measurable "items"--from the degree of professional military training, to concern for people and social property--and to a considerable extent are a suitable framework for filling in a picture of each noncommissioned officer on the job, but also of the officer as a person and a sociopolitical worker...

Room for subjectivism will be considerably reduced by such criteria. The military collectives act as a defense against all arbitrariness, and the possibility is eliminated that one person can decide as long as nothing is heard from the advisory bodies--cadre councils and commissions. The more consistent the application of the letter of these regulations, the less opportunity there will be for the evaluation to be "biased" or based on recent impressions, without a real analysis of the subordinate's values as a noncommissioned officer and a human being. A sort of corrective is the right of the (higher) superior officer to annul a service valuation regardless of the deadlines established for the evaluation, if the results of the noncommissioned officer's work are in fact at odds with the evaluation: whether they are more successful, in which case he should not permanently bear the "traces" of the past, or even noticeably poorer, which means that one cannot live on the laurels of one's former glory.

Finally, noncommissioned officers will be evaluated until the end of their careers, i.e. until their retirement (so far until 30 years of service), and the final evaluation will also be influenced by every "finding" by the appropriate army supervision agencies during various inspections of the units and establishments and their collective assessment.

For those whose ideas of all this are fairly hazy, let us add that the evaluation is not the goal in itself; it directly determines the noncommissioned officer's advancement, his assignment to more responsible posts, and the speed at which he reaches the corresponding ranks, and thus also the thickness of his monthly envelope.

Soon, with somewhat different measures, the work of civilians in the YNA will also be assessed by service evaluations (by the way, they perform increasingly more responsible duties in the YNA). The evaluation from one year will influence their monthly earnings during the following year, as well as reductions in the percentage of the regular cost-of-living adjustments in their salaries.

The "tempo" at which junior officers will advance--that is the official title for all noncommissioned officers from the rank of sergeant (which is reached after completing the secondary military school) to sergeant major first class--is determined above all by the service evaluation in the officer's "dossier." With the evaluation "good," which is the initial "visa" without which there is actually no advancement, there would be an extension of the time that the officer would have to spend in all ranks, except in the initial one, for a year,

and in the rank of master sergeant, for two years. Next, with an "outstanding," the "stay" in the rank of master sergeant would be a year longer. By the way, starting 1 January 1987 (in the meantime suitable preparations will be made), a master sergeant will have to surmount one more obstacle to jump to the next rank--a test for the rank of master sergeant first class. In an era of comprehensive technical progress and the continual modernization of our armed forces, this means keeping in step with the needs of the service. In preparing for the test, whose programs will be considerably broader than the simple meaning of the word, the junior officers, sometime around the middle of their military careers, will be equipped to keep up with achievements in the area of military science and technology and to meet the obligations awaiting them.

The law also introduces significant changes with respect to the promotion of officers (from the rank of second lieutenant to army general). In accordance with the innovations that have been incorporated, starting with captain first class, it will only be possible to promote to the next rank the officers who are assigned to a formation post for a higher rank (by the way, the number of these will be limited--adjusted to the needs of the units and establishments, which implies a certain selection for assignment to individual jobs when there are several candidates for this).

The service evaluation will be intertwined to a considerable extent with other conditions in achieving new stars. An evaluation of "good," as in the previous case, is the initial visa, but with this one will be promoted most slowly (up to two years longer in all ranks). Noncommissioned officers with an evaluation of "outstanding" spend a year longer in comparison with those who are evaluated most favorably. Under the logical assumption that these are the best workers and in every respect the most successful noncommissioned officers, the most favorable evaluations, given one after another, can bring the rank of lieutenant colonel 5-6 years earlier than noncommissioned officers who received evaluations of "outstanding," and about 10 years before those receiving "C's." Not to mention the difference from those who have the evaluation "satisfactory" and are left to drudge away where they ended up, until they make the necessary leap beyond the average.

#### Doctorate for Colonels and Generals

Without the "major test" or graduation from a command-headquarters or high military-political school, a captain first class cannot sew another stripe onto his epaulets (that is how the ranks of officers from major to colonel have been designated in recent years). If absolutely everything goes smoothly for him, however (both education and assignment), depending on the evaluations he receives, he will spend four, five, or even six years in the rank of major (as in the next rank), but further on the "filter" narrows even more, especially when it is necessary to jump over the last barrier and arrive at the rank of colonel.

With an evaluation of "good" one cannot become a colonel (by the way--not a general either), but other conditions are also added that the candidate (a lieutenant colonel) has to meet. For instance, specialization has been stipulated, or advanced studies (as a new form of further education), or the title of a master, doctor, or specialist in the appropriate scientific field (depending on the branch or service in which he serves), in addition to 5-6

years in the preceding rank. This major innovation will considerably raise the criteria for the highest ranks (although even in the past it has been difficult to reach the rank of colonel), while the rank of lieutenant colonel (with certain conditions) has been more or less accessible to all officers. Thus, in the future, it will be even more difficult, and the visa to pass through will be obtained only by model, highly educated noncommissioned officers. The provision that combines in itself all of the above requirements will be applied starting on 1 January 1988. Until then, promotion will take place in the old way, at least for those who are on the threshold of the rank.

Appropriate professional training is also a precondition for general ranks. Thus, the rank of major general can be reached by the colonel who has the highest military school (national defense or operations), with the title of doctor of military sciences or doctor in a scientific field that is appropriate to the service he belongs to. Furthermore, the colonel has to spend 5-6 years in the preceding rank, depending on the evaluation he receives; this is also the interval of time between the initial general rank and those that follow (lieutenant general, general).

#### Instead of Pay--Income

Before the new law was passed, the military were one of the few categories among the employed in our country who received an envelope at the end of the month with the pay for their work. The same was true of civilians serving in the YNA, except in the so-called "autonomous earning and distribution of income," and which operate under almost the same principles as similar organizations in society (rest homes, hotel establishments, larger military economies). The new law, however, changes a great deal of this, radically, and thus the pay of military personnel and civilians has been completely replaced by personal incomes.

The changes are at least of a formal-legal or terminological nature, although because of specific features of the army and internal relationships based on chain of command and subordination, and the nature of the military profession, objectively it has not been possible just to graft on and transplant the solutions applied in organizations of associated labor. Nevertheless, the step has been taken, and it is a fairly radical one.

The new solutions have two basic starting points. First of all, in the future the personal incomes of active military personnel will be coordinated with the average earnings of workers in the SFRY economy during the preceding half year, thus abandoning the former method of determining pay and making it equal to the monthly earnings of workers in the federal organs of the administration. The average personal income of an officer cannot be less than 2.20 or more than 2.80 percent of the average personal income of a worker in the SFRY economy, while the income of junior officers would be formed as in the past--from 70 percent of the personal income of an officer. In a way, such a solution represents a social verification of the occupation of the noncommissioned officer, and contributes to his affirmation and a more equal reception of young people at military schools from all parts of the country and from the ranks of all peoples and nationalities.

Another significant link in this chain is, as we stated, the legal obligation (in accordance with a social determination) that the personal income of military personnel will be made as dependent as possible upon their work, with firmer ties to the results achieved by their units and establishments. The scope of the transformation of pay into personal incomes is difficult to understand, however, unless it is viewed in the context of other legal solutions, especially in connection with promotion to ranks or classes, evaluation and assignment to appropriate formation posts, or assignment to duties. A sort of triangle is just being established: the better the service evaluation, the faster the change in ranks and duties, and this again also means a thicker envelope (but also a thinner one if the noncommissioned officer is replaced and assigned to the duties of a lower formation post).

The incomes of civilians, instead of pay, will continue to be coordinated with the earnings of those employed in the garrison, and the assessment of their work will draw a line distinguishing between creativity and a routine approach.

Recently a public discussion was conducted in the units and establishments on possible further changes in the "formation" of the income, with several new solutions which were announced and which represent an expansion of what was written in this law. Among other things, it has been planned that part of the army addition for military personnel will be determined depending on the number of transfers. Transfers or reassignments (the usual name which is gradually being superseded) undoubtedly constitute a more difficult part of military service, in view of the material and especially social consequences for a family because of a change in surroundings and sometimes even linguistic area, because of the continuation of school for the children under different school programs (it is not surprising that on the pages of NIN, one noncommissioned officer eagerly advocated common cores).

At the proposal of delegate to the Committee on National Defense Dusan Pekic, until recently a general, an amendment was incorporated just before the adoption of the law that it would be made possible for all noncommissioned officers after retirement to obtain an apartment in the place where they wanted to live, which is some satisfaction for all the years spent wherever required by the country's defense interests--from the major centers to the most remote border locations.

#### Professional Soldiers?

Young people serving their tour in the military at the time of the adoption of the law, except in the case of a reduction, which has been a military topic for a very long time, have been absorbed with yet another attractive offer. Specifically, the law offers the commanders of a unit, tank, or any other weapon, as well as the leaders of individual more complex parts of technical systems, the opportunity to remain in the service after the completion of their tour, and to enter a labor relationship for a set period (3 years). The preparations would begin during the so-called basic training or a somewhat more extended one, and with the assistance of additional courses, so that the future "soldiers by contract" can master their trades. After the expiration of this period, if "both sides" are satisfied and with the appropriate advanced professional education, the temporary labor relationship would be converted into a permanent one--with the status of officers or civilians serving in the armed forces.

In this way, through a sort of shortcut, the army would obtain the necessary personnel, since the training of noncommissioned officers is fairly expensive, and this is a more rational way of filling individual jobs. There would also be a gain on the other hand, primarily through better preservation and maintenance of technical equipment, which also means corresponding savings, but there has also been a great deal of emphasis on a broader social interest--the possibility of ensuing employment for a certain number of young people.

One could speak further about the constantly "current" competition which opens the door wider to junior officers for the officer ranks, if they have received the appropriate professional training (military and civilian), if they are less than 40 years of age and they have had two "outstanding" service evaluations; the civilians who under the new law can perform certain duties of active non-commissioned officers; and the supply of some personnel in individual services from the appropriate "civilian" schools, as for instance in the case of the recruitment of military musicians.

Finally, let us go back to the two second lieutenants from the beginning of the article. Although they probably do not fit into Napoleon's vision of the professional soldier who dreams of the general's baton, the new law, in spite of all the "obstacles," offers them realistic chances of reaching the highest duties and ranks in the armed forces. The extent to which they will succeed in this depends upon themselves.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE DISAGREEMENT ON MEMORIAL, ROLE OF WRITERS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Stane Pucko: "Dispute Termed Reconciliation"]

[Text] It is not exactly customary for the president of the CK [Central Committee] of the League of Communists to write to the president of the Writers' Union by way of the newspaper, but this is what Andrej Marinc did when he directed a letter to Tone Partljic in the pages of the literary supplement to the Ljubljana newspaper DELO.

At the recent annual convention of Slovenian writers, Partljic disagreed with Marinc in his introductory speech with reference to part of his [Marinc's] speech at the first meeting of the committee preparing for the 10th congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, in which Marinc drew attention to various instances of alternative solutions being offered to our self-management socialist system, with the goal of restoring former social relations, about which we at VJESNIK have already reported.

However, in his own address to the Writers' Union, Partljic dismissed the criticism allegedly made by Marinc because "I dare say that no one thinks in earnest that writers want to restore former social relations. I do not know a single writer like that," Partljic maintains, and "it is impossible to chauvinistically and nationalistically ascribe to writers the provocation of relations in Yugoslavia. In addition, I do not know one single member of the Slovenian Writers' Union who is tarnishing the revolution, who is a chauvinist, who is against socialism and for capitalism," because, Partljic says, "inquiring into events from our recent and distant past that have up to now been kept secret, shaken off and hushed up is by no means tarnishing the revolution."

Partljic even called his own speech political and said that politicians are now talking a lot about culture, and that because of this cultural workers are obliged to talk about politics, so that he in fact wanted to dispute the various allegations made (not by Marinc) that the Slovenian Writers' Union has in recent times been too politically involved and that it is moving away from the foundation of self-management socialism and the program of the socialist federation.



## Under the Mask of Humanism

However, Partljic intoned his entire speech with a considerably political tone and disputed particular thoughts that Marinc had articulated at the meeting of the above-mentioned committee.

In his letter, Marinc commented first of all that it had already been explained to Partljic and the group of communist writers that he does not lump the majority of writers, whose work he respects, together with those individual ones who are proposing the restoration of ideas and solutions. Since in his speech, which was published in DELO, Partljic also defended the idea of the Hribar Memorial, which publicly supports national reconciliation with the white guards (and at the conference of writers a resolution was adopted to the effect that the essay in which this very idea is set forth be read in public), and explained his position first of all with a question: "Does anyone--League of Communists or otherwise--think that writers write something as they do out of animosity and that they would tarnish those killed in battle for the revolution and also restore former social relations?"

The answer is forthcoming: "No, they write out of love, veneration and feeling for their duty towards man which is the core of everything in the writer's work." In his published letter Marinc asks, "Do you really think that it is possible in our society to allow, under the mask of humanism, the type of public reflection on the deaths and sacrifices by the Slovenian people that is now coming to an end, even with the idea that there be erected in Ljubljana, city of heroes, an obelisk with the inscription 'To those who died for the homeland'? Regardless of the intent of their authors, people with ideas such as these calmly accept equating fallen partisans with fascists and their accessories, the slayed child and its mother with the dead traitor to his people and homeland.

"If someone were to agree to something like this, it would mean an attempt at reconciliation with the irreconcilable--reconciliation with traitors," Marinc continues. "Let us not create the illusion that this is not so. Ideas such as these mean a resurrection all over again of everything bad that is behind us."

At one point he says literally this: "I am convinced that the very act of living and having time for renewal and the building of our community have long since healed these wounds for the most part. Therefore, this would mean that fears would be stirred up and those who live on (the sons, daughters and grandchildren who together are building a more humane and free life) would be regrouped in terms of who belongs where and to whom. That would be terrible! It is inconceivable that individuals with ideas such as these do not want to understand this even though they count themselves among the ranks of humanists, intellectuals, scientists, and even communists. It is their right to think what they want, but then let them not work publicly."

## Counterrevolution in a Cloak

Marinc also responded to Partljic's thoughts on politicians and cultural workers. For all the underlining of the role of the Slovenian Writers' Union within the socialist federation, an attitude such as this is an attempt to set up some kind of partner relationship, not only with the League of Communists, but with politics in general. Furthermore, Marinc asks Partljic whether he thoroughly took into consideration what it means to distinguish cultural workers from politicians. At the recent meeting of Republican Conference of the SSRN [Socialist Alliance of Working People] of Slovenia, the writer Ciril Zlobec explained during the debate, which concerned itself in ample detail with the actions of writers at the famous public speaker's platform on the Slovenian people and culture, that the Writers' Union should not be conceived of with respect to Slovenian writers as a homogenous society of like-minded persons, because there exist among writers rather large differences of opinion. This is perhaps one of the reasons that the above-mentioned annual conference of Slovenian authors was attended by a small number of members. However, Partljic's introductory speech provoked public reactions by particular authors who were not at the conference.

Tone Svetina was clearly indignant at Partljic's behavior. He agrees entirely with Marinc's appraisal of the cultural state of affairs and adds that Kardelj often warned that the counterrevolution is wrapped in the cloak of culture. That is accurate, because the freedom of art, according to Svetina, gives sufficiently wide maneuvering room to hostile and destructive forces as well.

Svetina then argued with Partljic's assertions that nothing has been written here up to now about the wholesale massacre of white guards at Kocevski Rog and points out to him that this was written about extensively in the third volume of his novel, as late as 1969, and that no censorship whatsoever obstructed it; the novel was printed in 700,000 copies in Slovenia and some 400,000 copies in other lands. Svetina takes offense at Partljic's thoughts on the curtailment of freedom in cultural creativity with respect to writers--the authority with which the Writers' Union presents itself as protector of persecuted writers, while Partljic did not even make mention of the psychological terror of the political underground.

From his own experience he alleges that while writing the fourth volume of the above-mentioned novel, he was tormented for two and a half years by telephone threats that they were going to kill him, that they were going to kill his son; they poisoned his dog, sank his boat, threw stones at his house, etc. Svetina says that he is not the only one to whom things like this are happening, and that at the moment he has no other choice but to move to another republic or on the other hand to enter into an armed struggle by his own hand.

The partisan fighter and writer Svetina also raised much criticism of the admissions policy into membership of the Writers' Union of Slovenia. The Hribar Memorial and its critic Milan Apih were, for example, accepted into the Union, and that is as it should be. But it is wrong that many wait a long time in vain to be admitted even though they deserve to be accepted.

After six successful books and a recommendation by a party organization of writers, partisan Janko Perat has not been accepted up to now; Janez Zupan, a mechanic from direct production, who is writing his fifth book, was rejected, etc. Are we a workers' society or are we not, Svetina asks, and adds that it is of great value for people in direct production, workers and farmers, to write books for the people. However, the national writer is among modernists somewhat less deserving, while the imitators of foreign styles and ideas are favored.

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CSO: 2800/264

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